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vol. 1





FOLK-LORE

A QUARTERLY REVIEW

OF

MYTH, TRADITION, INSTITUTION, & CUSTOM

BEING

THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY

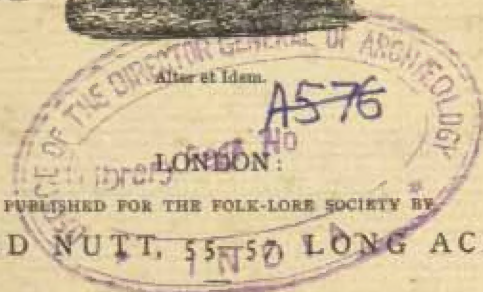
*And Incorporating THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL REVIEW and
THE FOLK-LORE JOURNAL*

VOL. XVIII—1907

31346



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PUBLISHED FOR THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY BY
DAVID NUTT, 55, 50 LONG ACRE

1907

[LXI.]

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ERRATA.

- P. 40, l. 8, *for meet read meat.*
 P. 52, l. 11, *for sycomore read sycamore.*
 P. 147, l. 20, *for of read of the.*
 P. 263, l. 12, *for Llamas read llamas.*
 P. 328, l. 4-5, *for low countries read Low Countries.*
 P. 328, l. 9, *for South read North.*
 P. 333, l. 26, *for Silva read Siva.*
 P. 345, l. 26, *for by read such as.*
 P. 432, l. 9 (title), *for EARLY read ANCIENT.*

Folk=Lore.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY.

VOL. XVIII.]

MARCH, 1907.

[No. I.

WEDNESDAY, 21st NOVEMBER, 1906.

MR. G. LAURENCE GOMME (VICE-PRESIDENT)
IN THE CHAIR.

THE Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The election of Mrs. J. K. Kabraji, Mr. A. G. Chater, Miss A. Garnett, Mr. G. W. Ferrington, Dr. Dan M'Kenzie, and Miss Jackson as members of the Society, and the enrolment of the Victoria Public Library (Melbourne), the Michigan University Library, the Bristol Public Library, and the Johannesburg Public Library as subscribers to the Society were announced.

The death of Mr. C. W. Duncan, and the resignations of Mr. E. Woodall, Mr. W. A. Craigie, Mr. O. Bray, Miss Quaritch, and Mr. F. G. Hilton Price, and the withdrawal of the subscription of the Tate Library, Streatham, were also announced.

Miss E. Hull read a paper entitled "The Evolution of the Idea of Hades in Celtic Literature," and in the

discussion which followed, Mr. Clodd, Mr. A. R. Wright, and the Chairman took part.

The Meeting terminated with a hearty vote of thanks to Miss Hull for her paper.

The Secretary reported the following additions to the Library since the 15th December, 1906, viz.:

Analecta Bollandiana, Vol. XXV., Parts I and II.; by exchange.

The Chaplains and the Chapels of the University of Cambridge, by the Rev. H. P. Stubbs, LL.D.; by exchange.

Neue Jahrbücher für das Klassische Altertum Geschichte und deutsche Literatur und für Pädagogik (Dr. Johannes Ilberg and Professor Dr. B. Gerth); presented by the Authors.

The So-called Gorgets (C. Peabody and W. K. Moorehead); by the Phillips Academy, Mass., U.S.A.

North Queensland Ethnography Bulletin, No. 8 (Walter E. Roth); by the Government of Queensland.

The Place-names of Bedfordshire, by Rev. W. W. Skeat, D.C.L.

Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, No. 46; by exchange.

Annual Progress Report of the Archæological Survey of Western India, for the year ending June 30th, 1905; presented by the Government of Bombay.

Annual Progress Report of the Archæological Survey of the Panjab and United Provinces Circle, and of the N.W. Frontier Province and Baluchistan, for the year ending March 31st, 1905; by the Government of the N.W. Frontier Province.

Mexican and Central American Antiquities (Edward Seler and others); by the Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington.

Anzeiger der Ethnographischen Abteilung des Ungarischen National Museums, Vol. III., Part I., edited by Dr. Semayer Vilibáld.

Report of the Archæological Work in Burmah, for the years 1904-05, 1905-06; by the Government of Burmah.

Report on the Administration of the Government Museum and Connemara Public Library, for the years 1904-05 and 1905-06; by the Government of Madras.

British New Guinea: Annual Report for year ending June 30th, 1904, and ditto for year ending June 30th, 1905; by the Government of Australia.

The Year-Book of Queensland, 1906; by the Agent-General of Queensland.

Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. VII., No. 5; by the Society.

Report of the 9th Meeting of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science, edited by Alex. Morton; by the Association.

Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India, 1903-04; by the Government of India.

Antiquities of the Jemez Plateau, New Mexico (E. L. Hewitt); by the Bureau of American Ethnology.

Ethnographic Notes in Southern India (E. Thurston); by the Author.

WEDNESDAY, 19th DECEMBER, 1906.

MR. G. LAURENCE GOMME (VICE-PRESIDENT)
IN THE CHAIR.

THE Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The election of Mr. B. Ghosal, Mr. A. B. Cook, and H.H. The Rajah Sir Buri Singh, as members of the Society, was announced.

The resignations of Major Mockler Ferryman, Mr. H. Courthope Bowen, and the withdrawal of the subscription of the Fulham Public Library were also announced.

Miss Jessie L. Weston read a paper entitled "The Grail and the Mysteries of Adonis," and in the discussion which followed, Mr. Yeats, Dr. Furnivall, Professor Starr, Dr. Gaster, and the Chairman took part. In the absence of Mr. Nutt, some observations of his upon the paper were read by the Secretary.

The Meeting terminated with a hearty vote of thanks to Miss Weston for her paper.

WEDNESDAY, 16th JANUARY, 1907.

THE PRESIDENT (DR. W. H. D. ROUSE)
IN THE CHAIR.

THE Minutes of the last Annual Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Annual Report, Statement of Accounts and Balance Sheet for the year 1906 were duly presented, and upon the motion of Mr. Letts, seconded by Mr. Croke, it was resolved that the same be received and adopted. Balloting papers for the Election of President, Vice-Presidents, Council, and Officers having been distributed, Mr. Major and Mr. Thomas were nominated by the Chairman as scrutineers for the ballot.

The Chairman, having delivered his Presidential Address, [p. 12] announced the result of the ballot, and the following were declared duly elected, viz. :—

President.

Dr. Gaster.

Vice-Presidents.

The Hon. John Abercromby.
Lord Avebury, D.C.L., LL.D.,
F.R.S.
Sir E. W. Brabrook, C.B., F.S.A.
Miss C. S. Burne.
Edward Clodd.
J. G. Frazer, D.C.L., LL.D., etc.
G. Laurence Gomme, F.S.A.
A. C. Haddon, D.Sc., M.R.I.A.,
F.Z.A.

E. S. Hartland, F.S.A.
Andrew Lang, M.A., LL.D., etc.
Alfred Nutt.
Professor J. Rhys, M.A., LL.D.,
F.S.A.
W. H. D. Rouse, Litt.D.
The Rev. Professor A. H. Sayce,
M.A., LL.D., D.D.
Professor E. B. Tylor, LL.D.,
F.R.S.

Members of Council.

E. K. Chambers.
W. Crooke, B.A.
M. Longworth Dames.
Miss Eyre.
Miss E. Hull.
The Rev. H. N. Hutchinson,
F.G.S.
A. W. Johnston, F.S.A. Scot-
land.
A. F. Major.

R. R. Marett, M.A.
C. S. Myers, M.A., M.B.
T. Fairman Ordish, F.S.A.
W. H. R. Rivers, M.D.
C. G. Seligmann, M.B.
Walter W. Skeat, M.A.
C. J. Tabor.
N. W. Thomas, M.A.
Dr. E. Westermarck.
A. R. Wright.

Hon. Treasurer.

Edward Clodd.

Hon. Auditors.

F. G. Green and N. W. Thomas, M.A.

Secretary.

F. A. Milne, M.A.

Dr. Rouse thereupon vacated the chair, which was taken by Dr. Gaster, the newly-elected President. Upon the motion of Dr. Gaster, seconded by Mr. Ordish, a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to the outgoing President for his address, and a vote of thanks was also accorded to the outgoing Members of the Council, viz., Miss Ffennell, Dr. Gollancz, Mr. Lovett, Mr. Rose, and Mr. H. B. Wheatley on the motion of Mr. Clodd, seconded by Mr. Nutt.

THE TWENTY-NINTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

16TH JANUARY, 1907.

THE Council have to record a year of steady work and progress. Five Libraries have been enrolled as subscribers to the Society, and 19 new members have been elected. On the other hand 13 old members have resigned, and 3 have died; and the subscriptions of two libraries have been withdrawn. The roll of the Society is, therefore, a little longer than it was a year ago. It is, however, a matter of regret that more subscriptions than usual are in arrear, and the Council hope that this state of affairs will be remedied before the next annual meeting.

The reasons alleged for resignation are often quite inadequate, and the Council appeal to all present members not to allow any but the weightiest reasons to influence them to withdraw from the Society.

In the last annual report a proposal was made by the Council that members and subscribing libraries should in future be distinguished in the published lists. No list of Members has been published during the past year, but effect will be given to the proposal in due course.

The papers read during the year have been as follows, viz.:

Jan. 17. The President's Address, (*Folk-Lore*, March, 1906.)

Feb. 21. "The Folklore of Dolls." (Illustrated by lantern slides.) Mr. E. Lovett.

- March 21. "Elf shooting and its treatment in the North-west of Ireland." The Rev. J. Meehan.
 "More Cairne Folklore." The Rev. Prof. A. H. Sayce.
 April 25. "Spanish Amulets and *ex voto* Offerings." Mr. W. L. Hildburgh.
 "The Scapegoat in Europe." Mr. N. W. Thomas.
 May 16. "Travel Notes from South Africa." (Illustrated by lantern slides.) Mr. E. S. Hartland.
 June 20. "Custom and Belief in the Icelandic Sagas." Miss Winifred Faraday.
 Nov. 21. "The Evolution of the Idea of Hades in Celtic Literature." Miss Eleanor Hull.
 Dec. 19. "The Grail and the Mysteries of Adonis." Miss Jessie L. Weston.

The meetings were generally well attended, especially those on February 21st and May 16th, which were no doubt rendered particularly attractive by the lantern illustrations. Miss Weston's paper, read on the 19th December, gave rise to a capital discussion, in which (amongst others) Mr. W. B. Yeats and Dr. Furnivall took part.

The Council regret that so few objects of Folklore interest have been offered for exhibition during the year. In fact, the only exhibitor has been Mr. W. L. Hildburgh, who showed a most interesting collection of Spanish amulets and *ex voto* offerings illustrative of the paper read by him on the 25th April. In the year 1905 the list of objects exhibited was an unusually long and interesting one, and the Council hope that their next report will contain a list at least as long and as interesting. The secretary is always glad to arrange with members of the Society or their friends for the exhibition of objects at any meeting; and, provided that sufficient notice be given, the proposed exhibition can be announced on the cards sent out before each meeting to members residing in London and the home counties. These exhibitions contribute so much to the interest and attractiveness of the meetings that they deserve every encouragement.

There has been no addition to the objects in the Society's

case in the Museum of Archæology and Ethnology at Cambridge during the year. The compilation of a catalogue of these objects with the view of rendering the collection more useful to students of Folk-lore is under consideration.

Some 25 books and pamphlets of a miscellaneous description have been added to the Society's library during the year.

The Society has issued during the year the 17th volume of *Folk-lore*. The Council are happy to say that the services of Miss Burne as Editor of the Journal are still at their disposal, and they venture to express their hope that they may long continue to be so. The Society owes Miss Burne a deep debt of gratitude for the great pains she has taken in performing a difficult, and sometimes, it is to be feared, irksome task. The Council have again to thank Mr. A. R. Wright for devoting so much of his brief leisure in preparing the index to the volume. The policy of illustrating freely has been continued, and is, it is believed, appreciated.

The Society has issued during the year for the first time a separate Bibliography of Folklore for 1905, prepared by Mr. N. W. Thomas. The Council are inviting the co-operation of other societies with kindred objects in future issues of a similar kind.

The additional volume promised for 1904, viz., a collection of Jamaican Folklore, entitled *Jamaican Song and Story*, by Mr. Walter Jekyll, will, it is hoped, be in the hands of members in the course of the next few weeks. The Council regret the delay that has occurred in issuing the volume, but owing to Mr. Jekyll's residence in Jamaica it has been inevitable.

Mr. M. Longworth Dames' *Popular Poetry of the Baloches*, the additional volume promised for 1905, will be issued to members at the same time as Mr. Jekyll's book. The Council of the Royal Asiatic Society are

co-operating with the Council in the production of this volume, and will purchase 300 copies.

The additional volume for 1906 will be a further instalment of the County Folk-lore Series, viz., the Folk-lore of Lincolnshire collected from printed sources by Miss Peacock and Mrs. Gutch. The collection is in the hands of the Council and will shortly be ready for press. As the material is unusually abundant, it is probable that it will be found necessary to issue a second volume at a later date.

The Council have under their consideration the question of an additional volume for 1907, but have at present come to no decision. They are expecting at an early date to receive Mr. Chope's collection of Devonshire Folklore from printed sources, and Mrs. Gutch has very kindly undertaken the collection of the Folklore of the East Riding of Yorkshire. Other MSS. have been placed in the hands of the Council with a view to publication, and these are still under consideration.

The Society was represented at the meeting of the British Association at York by Mr. E. S. Hartland, the President of Section H; Dr. Haddon, Mr. Gomme, Dr. Rivers, Mrs. Gutch, and others.

The Council submit herewith the Annual Accounts and Balance Sheet duly audited. The balloting list for the Council and Offices for the ensuing year is sent herewith.

By Order of the Council.

W. H. D. ROUSE,
President.

TREASURER'S CASH ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31ST, 1906.

RECEIPTS.			£	s.	d.	PAYMENTS.			£	s.	d.						
To Balance carried forward from 1905:—						By Printing Account (Publications):—											
Petty cash in hands of Secretary						£3	7	3	Messrs. R. MacLelland & Co.								
On Current Account at Bank ...						272	6	8	<i>Folk-Lore</i> , Vol. xvi., 4 ...						£60	0	9
									" Vol. xvii., 1, 2, 3 ...						118	18	7
									Bibliography, 1905 ...						24	6	9
" Subscriptions, 1907 (14) ...						£14	14	0	Miscellaneous Printing (Matthews, Drew & Co.),								
" " 1906 (353) ...						370	13	0	Oct. 1905—Oct. 1906 ...								
" " 1905 (14) ...						14	14	0	Engraving Blocks, &c., for Illustrations in								
" " Earlier years (16) ...						16	16	0	<i>Folk-Lore</i> ...								
									Advertising (Messrs. Nutt), July, 1905—July,								
									1906 ...								
" Sale of Publications, per Messrs. Nutt:—									Postages, Despatch of Volumes, &c. (Messrs.								
Third and Fourth Quarters, 1905 ...						25	11	2	Nutt), July, 1905—July, 1906 ...								
									Binding Account (Simpson & Co.) ...								
									Warehousing Stock (Simpson & Co.), 5 Quarters								
									to Michaelmas, 1906 ...								
									Insurance of Stock (Simpson & Co.) ...								
									Hire of Meeting Room ...								
									Expenses of Meetings:—								
									Advertising ...						£2	14	8
									Refreshments, ...						4	4	0
									Lantern, <i>twice</i> , ...						2	10	0
									Subscriptions:—								
									Congress of Archaeological						£2	0	0
									Societies, 1905 and 1906 ...								
									London Association for Pro-								
									tection of Trade ...						1	1	0
									Insurance of MSS. and Books in Library								
									Secretary's Salary and Poundage								

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

I PROPOSE to take for my subject the *Pāli Jātaka Book*. As you know, the text of this book, edited by the veteran Professor Fausboll, was completed a few years ago; and the translation has been in progress since 1888. The first volume was published in 1895, and the last was left incomplete at the death of Professor Cowell in 1903. The work of completing it was laid upon me by Professor Cowell, and I had hoped to get it done before this meeting; but, unfortunately, in the course of printing, it was found that there were large gaps left which must be filled. This has delayed the work, but it should be ready by the spring. A good deal has been already written about this book in the pages of our journal, but it may be worth while briefly to recapitulate what it has revealed, and to indicate anything which may suggest itself as to the future. I cannot but hope that the Society contains young and ardent spirits who are looking about them to see how they may serve the cause of research; if so, they need look no longer, for I can soon show them work enough for the greediest.

The word *Jātaka*, Birth, is applied specially to stories about the earlier birth of Gautama Buddha. There is no reason to doubt that Buddha used to tell such stories to his disciples, the framework being often a beast-fable or wonder-tale which was already current; like other

religious teachers, in fact, he used for his own purposes the materials which he found at hand, knowing that truth embodied in a tale could find entry at lowly doors. There is no contemporary evidence; but the traditions of Ceylon speak of the *Jātaka* as existing at the time of the Council of Vesālī, which took place a round hundred years after Buddha's death, that is about 380 B.C.¹ More important still is the direct evidence of the Buddhist carvings on the shrines of Bhārhut, Sānchi, and Amaravati. Here are a number of scenes from the *Jātakas*, each inscribed with its title, and most of them represented in the *Jātaka Book*. Thus at the end of the third century B.C., or some 300 years after the death of Buddha, these stories were already considered sacred, and their scenes were felt to be the most fit ornament to be carved on a great Buddhist shrine. There is evidence also, not only in the Pali sacred books, but in those of the hostile sect of the Northern Buddhists, that a collection of Birth stories under the title of *Jātaka* existed as part of the canon. All this points to the existence of such a book in very early times, probably before the split took place between Northern and Southern Buddhism. A strong confirmation of this is the reference in one Birth Story to Ceylon as an isle of *yakkhas*, or goblins.

But the book as we have it was put together much later. According to the Ceylon tradition, the book originally consisted only of the *gāthās* or poetical stanzas, the stories being given in a Singhalese commentary; and that this commentary was translated into Pali by the scholar Buddhaghosa about 430 A.D. Probably the verses were learnt by heart as the text for stories handed down by oral tradition or otherwise; there might well have been an ancient text, but the differences in detail between the Pali and the various Sanskrit

¹ *Dīpavamsa*, 5, 32.

collections would appear to suggest that the form of the stories was not invariable. The history of this book shows the same general lines as that of the Christian gospels, or to take a more exact parallel, the mediæval *Gesta Romanorum*. Whether there was really a translation of the Singhalese commentary into Pali, or whether the Pali version took shape at a time when Pali was a real spoken vernacular, matters not for our present purpose; it is sufficient to say that probably Buddhaghosa, or perhaps some one near his day, did put the book into its present shape. He used, however, traditional materials; the verses all through show a dialect much more ancient than the prose, and one which closely resembles the Sanskrit dialect of the sacred books of the Northern sect. The antiquity of the verse-Pali, and its independence, are shown also by the occurrence of words and forms which can only be explained by a reference to the *Vedas*. We have here, in fact, a literary tradition which is directly derived from very ancient times, and not a translation from anything like contemporary classical Sanskrit. Many of the stories given in the *Jātaka Book* are also found in other of the sacred books or their commentaries.

The *Pāli Jātaka Book* begins with an Introduction which describes the chief events of the last earthly life of Buddha. Then follow the stories, classified in a truly Oriental way, by the number of verses quoted in each. The First Book, containing 150 stories, has one verse in each; the Second Book, two; and so forth, until in the later books we have thirty, forty, fifty, or more given in the titles, as round numbers, of course. The last book of all, *The Mahānipāta*, or Great Book, contains stories with several hundreds of verses: a thousand is the round number used to describe this section; in fact, the scribe says in one place, cutting short an interminable conversation, full of strings of vain

repetitions, "If this story were not confined to a thousand verses, it would never come to an end." This principle of arrangement, if we may use the word principle of a thing so meaningless, well shows that perversion of the sense of symmetry which afflicted the scholars of the east. Each of the stories is composed on one plan. It begins with what is called the story of the present, or the occasion. Something happens; the Brethren, who always find time for gossip, although gossip is one of the sins condemned most severely by their Northern cousins, meet together in the Hall of Truth, and talk the matter over. In comes the Buddha, and asks what they are talking about: they tell him. "Oh," says he, "that need not surprise you; the same thing has happened before." Then he tells them the Story of the Past, in which the main circumstances are the same, and so are the characters, but under different names; Buddha is nearly always one of them. In the course of the story he introduces the text-verses, which in the later books paraphrase the whole. Finally he draws the moral, and identifies the characters of the Birth with those around him.

Of late years, the study of Buddhist Sanskrit has brought to light some other collections of Birth Stories, which are invaluable for comparative criticism. One is called the *Jātaka-Mālā*, or Garland of Births.¹ This book contains 34 stories, of which 26 have been identified with stories or titles in the *Pāli Jātaka Book*. The others are shorter, and differ in many respects from those of the *Pāli*. A story-book of an independent type, and far more important, is the *Divyāvadāna*,² edited from Nepālese MSS. This belongs to the Northern School of

¹The *Jātaka-Mālā*, edited by H. Kern. American Oriental Series. Ginn & Co. 1891.

²The *Divyāvadāna*, a collection of early Buddhist legends, now first edited from the MSS. by E. B. Cowell and R. A. Neil. Cambridge. 1886.

Buddhism, and exists also in a Tibetan translation. The Buddhist books were translated into Tibetan about the eighth century: these translations are so literal that it is often possible to reconstruct the original Sanskrit text. But the Tibetan *Divyāvadāna* has never been compared with the Sanskrit as we have it, and neither has been as yet translated into English. So far, therefore, they are not yet available for English students; but another collection, of great importance, the *Mahāvastu*,¹ is accompanied by introductions in French which summarise the contents of the book. Allusion is made in this book to the "Jātakas recounted by the Buddha,"² and a certain number of parallels may be found in it to the tales of the Pāli canon. Many of the stories of the Pāli also find parallels in the Sanskrit non-religious literature, as the *Hitopadeṣa*, the *Pañcatantra*, the *Rāmāyana*, the *Kathā-sarit-sāgara*.

For the history of folk-tales and their transmission the importance of our book has been recognised ever since its character was made known to students. Like others of its class, it embodies and uses for pointing a moral, numbers of animal-stories and fairy-tales which were familiar to the hearers from their childhood. And although the preacher has warped the tales mercilessly for his own ends, they still have power to charm. To this day, when the full moon floods the sky with a soft radiance which we never see in our clime, and when the cool of the evening has called out men, women, and children to enjoy their rest, these ancient stories may still be heard in the villages of Ceylon or Burma, and never fail to hold their hearers' attention. The animal stories have suffered least, because they moralize naturally. These embody in themselves the proverbial wisdom and

¹ *Le Mahāvastu*: texte sanscrit, accompagné d'introductions et d'un commentaire par É. Senart. Paris, 3 vols. 1882-1897.

² i. 105^a.

humour of the people. Their range of transmission is extraordinary; and we are not surprised to find a tale of Brer Rabbit and several of Aesop's fables amongst them. One of the first to be identified was the Ass in the Lion's Skin.¹ I need hardly remind you that he is at home in Asia, where lions once must have been plentiful, although it is true that they were sometimes found in Europe long after Aesop's day. The Fox and the Crow, on the other hand, has lost its point in the eastern version,² where the crow, flattered by the fox's compliment—which is put in the form of poetry, of course—simply shakes a branch and causes some of the fruit to drop for him by way of reward. Aesop's Wolf and Crane is told of a woodpecker and a lion;³ this has a parallel also in a Tibetan tale, the Ungrateful Lion. The fable of the Wolf and the Lamb, that tearful favourite of our childhood, has a parallel which embodies the same moral, which may be less familiar to you.⁴

Nor is this the only point of connexion with modern literature. The Parrot and the Faithless Wife⁵ reappears both in the *Gesta Romanorum* and in the Book of the Knight de la Tour Landry. In a Greek variant of the same tale,⁶ the wife succeeds in hoodwinking her husband, as also she does in the English, which I give here.

I WOLLE TELLE YOU AN ENSAUMPLE OF A WOMAN THAT ETE THE
GOOD MORSKELLE IN THE ABSENCE OF HER HUSBONDE.

There was a woman that had a pie in a cage, that spake and wolde telle talys that she saw do. And so it happed that her husbonde made kepe a gret ele in a litelle ponde in his gardin, to that entent to yeue it sum of his frendes that wolde come to see hym; but the wyff, whanne her

¹ *Jat.* ii. 76. ² *Jat.* ii. 299. ³ *Jat.* iii. 17; *Tibetan Tales*, No. 37.

⁴ *Jat.* iii. 285, read in full at Meeting, together with several others.

⁵ *Jat.* ii. 93 (quoted at Meeting); *G. Rom.* No. 45; *K7. T. L.* ch. xvi. (ed. E. E. T. S., p. 22).

⁶ *Fabulae Romanenses* (Teutones), p. 15.

husbond was oute, saide to her maide, "late us ete the gret ele, and y wille saie to my husbond that the otour hathe eten hym"; and so it was done. And whan the good man was come, the pye began to telle hym how her maistresse had eten the ele. And he yode to the ponde, and fonde not the ele. And he asked his wiff wher the ele was become. And she wende to haue excused her, but he saide her, "excuse you not, for y wote welles ye haue eten it, for the pye hathe told me." And so ther was gret noyse betwene the man and his wiff for etinge of the ele. But whanne the good man was gone, the maistresse and the maide come to the pie, and plucked of alle the fedres on the pyes hede, seieng, "thou hast discovered us of the ele"; and thus was the pore pye plucked. But ever after, whanne the pie saw a balled or a pilled man, or a woman with an highe forhede, the pie saide to hem, "ye spake of the ele." And therfor here is an ensaumple that no woman should ete no lycorous morcelles in the absens and withoute weting of her husbond, but yef it so were that it be with folk of worshippe, to make hem chere; for this woman was afterward mocked for the pye and the ele.

There is one story of a very good king¹ who has conscientious objection to compulsory military service. Unlike his modern imitators, he carries out his principles to their logical issue, and allows any one who wishes to steal his goods. He and his court, who obediently do as he tells them, are therefore buried up to the neck in the earth beside some dead bodies; but confident in their righteousness, they do not despair. In the night a troop of jackals attack them, but the king's conscience draws the line of passive resistance at a jackal. The king takes fast hold of a jackal's paw with his teeth, and the beast struggles so hard that he pulls up the king out of the pit wherein he had been digged. The king goes back to his palace, and finds his way to the usurper's bedside, where he stands sword in hand and awakens the usurper. The latter, seeing that he is in the king's power, says he will never do it again, and they swear eternal friendship. This is a story which would rejoice the heart of Mr. Stead and Mr. Haldane. With it may be compared the *Volsung Saga*.²

Besides these complete stories there are many episodes

¹ Jät. i. 131.

² Hagen's *Heltenwagn*, iii. 23.

or allusions which recall something in ancient literature. Pausanias in his visit to Delphi saw, amongst the pictures of Polygnotus, the figure of a man, seated, and inscribed with the title *Ocnos*, or Indolence; he was plaiting a rope, and beside him stood a she-ass furtively eating the rope as fast as he made it. "They say," says the traveller, "that this Ocnos was an industrious man who had a spendthrift wife, and as fast as he earned money, she spent it." This episode reappears in the Introduction to *Jātaka*, No. 77,¹ where a king has a number of wonderful dreams which nobody can interpret save the Bodhisat. Here is the seventh dream. "A man was weaving rope, and as he wove, he threw it down at his feet. Under his bench lay a hungry she-jackal, which kept eating the rope as he wove, but without the man's knowing it." The Bodhisat interprets the dream as the Greek does, as referring to the inordinate greed and extravagance of women; but he is careful to point out that it refers to future time. Who shall say that this prophecy has not ere now come true? There is again the Greek proverb αἰεὶ μάχαιραν, which is thus interpreted by Zenobius: "The Corinthians kept a yearly feast for Hera, and sacrificed a goat to the goddess. Now some of the men hid the knife, but the goat fumbling with her feet uncovered it, and thus became the cause of her own death." This reappears in an Indian version.²

Another story throws new light on a difficult passage of Sophocles. You will remember the lines where Antigone speaks of the tie which binds her to her dead brother:³

"A husband dead, another I might find me,
Or if my son were dead, another son,
But since my parents both are dead and gone,
No brother could I ever get again."

¹ *Jat.* i. 189; Paus. x. 29; *Folk-Lore*, i. 409.

² Zenobius, *Cent.* i. 27; *Jāt.* iv. 159 (quoted).

³ *Soph. Ant.* 989.

Herodotus¹ tells us also that Darius, having condemned Intaphernes and all his family to death, offered his wife the life of one of them, and she chose her brother. Being asked why, she answered: "O King, I might get me another husband, if God will, and other children if I should lose these; but since my father and my mother are dead, there is no means by which I could get a brother." The Indian king in the like case was more generous than Darius, and pleased with her answer, gave back to the woman all three.² Strange as this comparative table of value may seem to us, it thus appears to be natural in certain states of feeling; and I may add that the Greek woman of to-day has the same opinion. I have found it expressed in a modern Greek ballad,³ and have heard often of women saying the like of their brothers, at least as compared with their husbands, I need not further go into detail. Enough to say that there are parallels or illustrations of a host of things: of Indian epic and drama, of Danae and Theseus, of Jonah and Potiphar's wife, of Peter walking on the sea.⁴

In modern oriental folktales many examples may be found of the survival of those which meet us in the *Jātaka Book*. The excellent tale of the Crane and the Crab⁵ was found lately in the Malay States.⁶ How the Monkey outwitted the Crocodile is known in China and Japan.⁷ The legend of King Mandhātu has been met with in Tibet;⁸ so has the Gazelle and the Hunter,⁹ and a number of others. There are also references to a number of legends still current in India, some of which are contained in Swynnerton's *Indian Nights Enter-*

¹ Herod. iii. 110-120.

² *Jāt.* i. 165.

³ *Folk-Lore*, x. 183.

⁴ See *Indices* to the various volumes of the translation.

⁵ *Jāt.* i. 96.

⁶ *Fables and Folktales from an Eastern Forest*, p. 18.

⁷ Beal, *Romantic Legend*, 231; Griffin, *Fairy Tales from Japan*.

⁸ *Jāt.* ii. 216; *Tib. Tales*, pp. 1-20.

⁹ *Jāt.* No. 33-9; *Tib. Tales*, No. 41.

tainments. Examples of repartee, which is a favourite motive in the humorous tales, may also be found in modern versions.¹

Two stories which are original in conception should be mentioned. The first is a nature-myth. In India, it will be remembered, the lines on the moon's face are supposed to represent a hare; and this tells us how the hare got into the moon,² a story which recalls that of the old man with his lantern, bundle, and dog. The second describes the discovery of intoxicating liquors.³

The superstition mentioned in one of the tales which I have read as to the evil effects of a mouse-bite, is often exemplified; it may be found also in classical literature, as in the *Geoponica*. There is a proverb both in Greek and Latin, "where mice nibble iron," apparently referring to the land of nowhere;⁴ and I have sometimes wondered whether there could be any connexion between the two. A similar elusive resemblance, or coincidence, is seen in the word *caturāṅgasamannāgata*, or "four-cornered, four-membered," applied to the perfect man;⁵ for *τετραγώνος* or "foursquare" is the epithet of the perfect man in a poem of Simonides.⁶ There is also a very close parallel between a saying of Epictetus and a passage in this book.⁷

Allusions to other superstitions, to charms and incantations, and the like, are common enough. The serpent's breath is supposed to be poisonous; but the serpent is its own antidote if it sucks out the poison of its bite.⁸ The sunrise breaks the power of spells.⁹ Sacrifice of life, especially human life, is made at the foundation of a building.¹⁰ The rightwise progress is regular when it is

¹ *Jat.* ii. 127 (quoted); Stumme, *Tunisiſche Märchen*, vol. ii.

² *Jat.* iii. 34.

³ *Jat.* v. 6.

⁴ Herodotus, 3. 76; Seneca, *Apocolocyntosis*, 7.

⁵ *Jat.* ii. 134.

⁶ Plato, *Protag.* 339 B.

⁷ *Jat.* iii. 107; Bacon, *Adv. of Learning*, i. 8.

⁸ iv. 283; i. 168.

⁹ ii. 107.

¹⁰ iv. 155.

wished to show respect or to avoid ill luck. Omens and signs of all sorts occur. Sacrifice and ceremonial is described: the ceremonial sprinkling of a King,¹ the ceremony of condemning a criminal,² the plowing festival,³ the ceremony by which a man took on himself the sins of a King.⁴ Various ancient taboos are mentioned, some having their parallels in Greece;⁵ and there are many allusions, obscure no doubt, to marriage laws,⁶ animal clans, caste rites, and the like. For the history of caste, indeed, the book is of special importance; and a great deal may be learnt from it of the social conditions of the time, and the daily life of the people. It is quite clear that the book reflects a definite period of culture. The Warriors are superior to the Brahmins, and are always mentioned first in an enumeration; the line between the castes is not clearly drawn. There are also aboriginal tribes, black and ugly as compared with the ruling race, and sometimes cannibals. These are often mixt up with goblins and ogres and rare snakes. The pantheon contains few great gods, but there are worlds of gods answering to the world of men, and the King of the Gods is Sakka, or Indra. Worship is generally paid to ghosts and to trees. The ghosts, or *petas*, are unhappy creatures; for they are afflicted with a continual torment of hunger and thirst, but their mouths are no bigger than the prick of a pin. Every tree holds its spirit; and we also read of spirits indwelling in the city gates and battlements, and even a deity in the King's parasol.

I hope this sketch may turn the attention of some one to the Buddhist literature. Hardly a generation has passed since the study of Pali began in the West; and now, thanks to the energy of Prof. Rhys Davids, most of its literature is printed. Besides the Jātaka, now soon to be

¹ *Jat.* iv. 220, 246.² iv. 119.³ iv. 53, 104.⁴ iv. 230, cp. v. 71.⁵ ii. 15.⁶ ii. 175, 247.

complete, very little has been translated into English or any European language ; but dull though most of it is, it contains a great deal more which bears on our subject. Most of the Buddhist Sanskrit works are still unprinted ; and the Tibetan practically unknown. There are probably not a dozen men in Europe who know Tibetan, and only one set of the books is to be found in England. Here is another opportunity for the wise millionaire, if such a being exists. One set of these books was offered to me three years ago for about £1200, but the money could not be found by any English library, and they are gone. I know where to get another: price, one elephant. Here is also a life-work for twenty young scholars who want to do good work in the world. Incidentally, they will make themselves a name. What they will find will not all be folklore ; but this Society will hardly grudge the crusts off their table to others, when they have themselves eaten the crumb.

W. H. D. ROUSE.

THE EUROPEAN SKY-GOD.

VIII. THE CELTS.

BY ARTHUR BERNARD COOK.

PARTLY similar to the tale of Diarmuid at Dubhros, partly to that of Cod in the Forest of Wonders, is the old Highland poem by Blind O'Cloan entitled *Bàs Fhraoich* or 'The Death of Fraoch.'¹ It tells how Mai loved Fraoch but, becoming jealous of her own daughter *Geal-cheann* or 'Fair-head,' plotted his destruction.

A rowan tree stood in Loch Mai,
We see its shore there to the south;
Every quarter every month,
It bore its fair, well-ripened fruit;
There stood the tree alone, erect,
Its fruit than honey sweeter far;
That precious fruit so richly red,
Did suffice for a man's nine meals;
A year it added to man's life,—
The tale I tell is very truth.
Health to the wounded it could bring,
Such virtue had its red-skinned fruit.
One thing alone was to be feared
By him who sought men's ills to soothe:
A monster fierce lay at its root,
Which they who sought its fruit must fight.
A heavy, heavy sickness fell
On Athsch's daughter, of liberal horn;

¹ *The Dean of Lismore's Book* ed. with translation and notes by the Rev. T. M'Lauchlan Edinburgh 1862 pp. 54 ff. in English, 36 l. in Gaelic.

Her messenger she sent for Fraoch,
Who asked her what 'twas ailed her now.
Mai said her health would ne'er return,
Unless her fair soft palm was filled
With berries from the deep cold lake,
Gleaned by the hand of none but Fraoch.
"Ne'er have I yet request refused,"
Said Fithich's son of ruddy hue;
"Whate'er the lot of Fraoch may be,
The berries I will pull for Mai,"
The fair-formed Fraoch then moved away
Down to the lake, prepared to swim.
He found the monster in deep sleep,
With head up-pointed to the tree. A sigh.

Fraoch Fithich's son of pointed arms,
Unheard by the monster, then approached.
He plucked a bunch of red-skinned fruit,
And brought it to where Mai did lie.
"Though what thou did'st thou hast done well,"
Said Mai, she of form so fair,
"My purpose nought, brave man, wilt serve,
But that from the root thou'dst tear the tree."
No bolder heart there was than Fraoch's,
Again the slimy lake he swam;
Yet great as was his strength, he couldn't
Escape the death for him ordained.
Firm by its top he seized the tree,
And from the root did tear it up:
With speed again he makes for land,
But not before the beast awakes.
Fast he pursues, and, as he swam,
Seized in his horrid maw his arm.
Fraoch by the jaw then grasped the brute,
'Twas sad for him to want his knife:
The maid of softest waving hair,
In haste brought him a knife of gold.
The monster tore his soft white skin,
And hacked most grievously his arm.
Then fell they, sole to sole opposed,
Down on the southern stony strand,
Fraoch mac Fithich, he and the beast,
'Twere well that they had never fought.
Fierce was the conflict, yet 'twas long,—
The monster's head at length he took.
When the maid what happened saw,

Upon the strand she fainting fell,
 Then from her trance when she awoke,
 In her soft hand she seized his hand;
 "Although for wild birds thou art food,
 Thy last exploit was nobly done."
 'Tis from that death which he met then,
 The name is given to Loch Mai;¹
 That name it will for ever bear,
 Men have called it so till now. A sigh.

The rowan-tree bearing fruit of exceptional power, Mai's desire that Fraoch should pluck it, and Fraoch's consequent fight with a monstrous guardian of the tree, are features that recall the legend of Diarmuid. The knife of gold in Fraoch's hand, though used for attacking the monster not the tree, suggests the golden sickle with which the sacred olive of Zeus at Olympia was cut² or, to come nearer home, the golden sickle with which the druids cut the mistletoe,³ not to mention the new dirk with which the same plant was cut by the Hays at Errol.⁴ The location of the rowan-tree at the bottom of Loch Mai, like that of the Tree of Virtue at the bottom of the Lake of Wonders in the tale of Cod, or that of the Tree of the Green Cloth at the bottom of Loch Guirr,⁵ implies that Fraoch's exploit was in the nature of a visit to the Otherworld. Diarmuid too, according to a West Highland folk-tale,⁶ had sunk to the bottom of the sea in his quest for the daughter of King Under-waves and had there obtained for her the magic cup of King Wonder-plain, returning afterwards in safety to Erin. A more famous

¹ The Rev. T. M'Lauchlan *ib.* p. 54 n. 3 says: "It is generally believed in Perthshire that the scene of Fraoch's death was in Glen Cuaich, a valley lying between those of the Tay and the Almond. We have a Loch Fraoch there . . . I cannot find any lake in Scotland now called Loch Mai, although Loch Fraoch may have been so called."

² *Folk-lore* xv. 400.

³ *Plin. nat. hist.* 16. 251.

⁴ *Folk-lore* xvii. 318 ff.

⁵ *ib.* 347 n. 3.

⁶ J. F. Campbell *Popular Tales of the West Highlands* iii. 403 ff., *Lady Gregory Gods and Fighting Men* p. 319 ff.

tale, that of *In Gilla Decair* or 'The Slothful Gillie,'¹ which can be traced back to about the year 1630,² contains an account of Diarmuid's visit to the Otherworld, in which a guarded tree is a prominent object. It may be summarised thus:—

One day Finn and some of his chiefs were in Munster, resting on the hill of Collkilla, when they saw approaching a hideous [black]³ giant with an equally hideous horse. The giant was trailing after him an iron club and dragging the horse along by main force. He explained that he was the Gilla Dacker, a Fomor of Lochlann, who wished to serve Finn for a year and then, according to custom, fix his own wages. Finn agreed to this proposal. But no sooner had the big man's horse been turned out to graze than it began to kick and maim the horses of the Fianna. In their efforts to restrain its vicious tricks Conan and fourteen [thirteen] [[twenty-eight]]⁴ other men mounted the beast at once and started thrashing it. At this the Gilla Dacker grew indignant and finally took his departure, followed at a terrible pace by his horse, from whose back the fifteen [fourteen] [[twenty-nine]] riders tried in vain to escape. Finn and his friends at once went in pursuit; and Ligan Lumina, one of the fastest of the Fianna, caught the horse by the tail just as it reached the sea-shore. But he too stuck fast and was drawn along in the water after it. Fergus Finnvel, the poet, now advised Finn to go to Ben Edar for a ship. On the way thither they met opportunely enough a certain Feradach, who undertook to make a ship by striking his joiner's axe thrice on his sling-stick [[to make a whole fleet by striking the harbour with a branch]], and with him his brother Foltlebar, who said that he could follow a track on sea as well as on land. Finn took them both into his service, and they were as good as their word. Fifteen warriors selected from a muster of the Fianna went on board the newly-made vessel with Finn. For some days they sailed towards the west and, after weathering a bad storm, reached a vast rocky cliff, which towered up to such a height that its head seemed hidden

¹ S. H. O'Grady *Silva Gadelica* i. 258 ff. Irish text from a MS. dated 1765, ii. 292 ff. translation, Lady Gregory *Gods and Fighting Men* p. 327 ff., P. W. Joyce *Old Celtic Romances* p. 223 ff. Cp. Rhys *Hibbert Lectures* p. 187 ff., A. C. L. Brown *Iwain* p. 103 ff. I summarise from Joyce's version, which was made from a MS. written in 1728 with comparison of another written in 1795 (Joyce *op. cit.* p. xv).

² E. O'Curry *Manuscript Materials* p. 316 ff.

³ Words and sentences enclosed in square brackets are added from the version of *In Gilla Decair* given by S. H. O'Grady in *Silva Gadelica* ii. 292 ff.

⁴ Words and sentences enclosed in double square brackets are added from the folk-tale *Fin MacCool, the Hard Gilla, and the High King* in J. Curtin *Hero-Tales of Ireland* London 1894 p. 514 ff. (collected in county Kerry).

among the clouds. It rose sheer from the water and appeared to be as smooth as glass. [On it there abutted a rock, solid and cylindrical, having sides more slippery than an eel.] Thus far Foltlebar found the track of the Gilla Dacker, but no farther. The Fianna felt sure that he must live on the summit, and Fergus suggested that Dermot O'Dyna, who had been fostered from childhood by Manannan in Fairyland and by Angus at Bruga of the Boyne, should be able to climb the cliff and bring back tidings. Dermot thereupon arose, put on his armour, and leaning on his two long spears, the *Crann-boi* and the *Ga-derg*, swung himself from ledge to ledge up the rock. Having scaled the dizzy height, he looked inland and saw a flowery plain spread before him. He set out to walk across it and soon came to a great tree laden with fruit, over-topping all the other trees of the plain. It was surrounded at a little distance by a circle of pillar-stones; and one stone, taller than the others, stood in the centre near the tree. Beside this pillar-stone was a spring well, with a large, round pool as clear as crystal; and the water bubbled up in the centre, and flowed away towards the middle of the plain in a slender stream.¹ [From east and west, from south and north, Duibhne's grandson traversed the plain and, as he looked abroad, was aware of a vast tree with interlacing boughs and thickly furnished; hard by which was a great mass of stone furnished on its very apex with an ornamented pointed drinking-horn, and having at its base a fair well of water in all its purity.] Dermot stooped to drink, but ere he could do so heard the heavy tread of a warlike host and the clank of their weapons. He sprang to his feet and looked round; but the noise had ceased, and he saw nothing. Again he stooped to drink, and again he heard the same sounds, but louder and nearer than before. Casting his eyes round in some perplexity, he saw on the top of the tall pillar-stone a large drinking-horn, chased with gold and enamelled with precious stones. He took it down and drank without hindrance till he had slaked his thirst. But now there came against him from the east a tall wizard-champion (*gruaguck*) in full armour with a scarlet mantle and a golden crown. He addressed Dermot in an angry voice, and demanded instant satisfaction for this intrusion upon his island and his well. Dermot and he fell to fighting, and fought on furiously till evening came, when the wizard-champion sprang suddenly into the centre of his well and disappeared. Amazed and disappointed, Dermot walked towards the nearest point of a great forest, speared a deer, roasted it on hazel spits before a fire, which he kindled beneath a tree, and washed down his meal with water from the drinking-horn. [[He made a hut of limbs, and slept quietly till dawn.]] Next morning he slew another deer and drank again from the horn. Then, repairing to the well, found the wizard-champion there before him, standing

¹ On wells connected with rude stone monuments see W. C. Borlase *The Dolmen of Ireland* ii. 645, iii. 765, 768 ff., W. G. Wood-Martin *Elder Faiths of Ireland* ff. 86, J. R. Walker in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* Edinburgh 1883 v. 209.

beside the pillar-stone, fully armed as before and more wrathful than ever. He charged Dermot with killing some of his speckled deer, and at once proceeded to take vengeance on the trespasser. All day long they fought together, and, when the dusk began to fall, the wizard-champion again leaped into his well and vanished. The self-same thing happened on the third day, and on the fourth. But when, on the evening of the fourth day, the wizard-champion was about to spring into the well, Dermot clasped him tightly and together they sank to the bottom [[passed through a passage in the side of the spring]]. Here Dermot found a lovely country with flowery plains and woods of red yew trees. Right before him lay a glittering city with a royal palace, into which the wizard-champion passed through a whole array of knights in armour. Dermot slew the knights till he was weary of slaying, and then fell asleep before the very door of the castle. He was awakened and rescued from his dangerous plight by a princely warrior, who carried him off to a splendid house at some distance and there entertained him most courteously for the night. On the morrow [after hospitality lasting for three days and three nights], in answer to Dermot's questions, his host replied: 'This country is *Tir-fa-tonn* [*thr fâ thuinn*, 'terra sub unda']; the champion who fought with you is called the Knight of the Fountain, and that very champion is king of this land. I am the brother of the king, and my name is the Knight of Valour. Good reason indeed have I to be kind to you, Dermot O'Dyna, for, though you do not remember me, I spent a year and a day [a year] in the household of Finn the son of Cumal.' He further explained that the Knight of the Fountain had seized on his patrimony [(the Knight of Valour being the rightful king)] and begged Dermot to help him to recover it. Dermot did so, slew the Knight of the Fountain, and established the Knight of Valour as king in his stead.

Meantime Finn and his men had met with somewhat similar adventures. Feradach and Foltlebar had made a long rope of the ship's cordage, had scaled the cliff, and had drawn up the Fianna. Following Dermot's track they too had reached the great fruit-tree. Here they were joined by a king on horseback, who welcomed them to his country and escorted them across the plain to his palace. That night he entertained them, and on the evening of the next day made them a great feast. His royal hospitality was continued for three days and three nights. Then, in answer to Finn's questions, he told them that his country was called *Sorca* [[that he was the King of *Serdach*, 'Light']]. A messenger now arrived to tell the king that a foreign fleet, some said the King of the World and his host [(the High King of the World)] [the king of the Greeks in prosecution of his conquests all the world over], had made a descent upon his shores. Finn volunteered his aid, and the Fianna together with the men of *Sorca* successfully attacked the invaders. [Oscar slew the king of Franks' son, who was in the Greek army. Feradach and Foltlebar slew the king of Afric's son. Finn himself slew the king of Greeks' son; whose sister

Taise *taebghel*, the 'white-sided' [[Tessa Taov Geal]], was enamoured of Finn, and that night stole away to him. A chief captain in her father's host [[a champion called Lavran MacSuain]] undertook to recover her by waving a certain special branch of great beauty, the mere sound of which would throw all men into deepest slumber. Entering the green pavilion of Finn and the king of Sorcha, he thus lulled them to sleep and recaptured Taise for the king of the Greeks, who thereupon took himself off to Greece.]

Soon afterwards Finn and the king of Sorcha were conversing, when a troop was seen approaching. It proved to be Dermot accompanied by the Knight of Valour, now king of Tír-fa-tonn. He, as Dermot explained, had found out by his druidical art that it was Avarta the Dedannan, the son of Illahan of the Many-coloured Raiment [Abartach, son of Allchad], who had taken the form of the Gilla Dacker and carried off the sixteen [fifteen] Fianna to the Land of Promise. Finn resolved to go thither in quest of them. He went back to his ship, and voyaged from island to island over many seas until at length he reached the Land of Promise. [He had sent Dermot, Goll, Oscar, and Fergus to Greece in pursuit of Taise. They sailed to Athens, where Fergus with his poet's wand struck the city-gate and announced that they were travelling poets. While the king was away hunting, they carried off Taise and steered for the Land of Promise.¹] Dermot, as a fosterling of Manannan, would not let Finn lay waste the land: but Foltlebar and one other, sent on as heralds to the mansion of Avarta, demanded the restitution of Conan and the missing Fianna. Avarta came back with Foltlebar, concluded peace with Finn, and brought him and his company to the mansion, where they found their lost friends and all made merry together. Finn, in view of this friendly re-union, claimed no damages but gave Avarta the wages of his service [said that the wages due to Abartach were cancelled by the damages due to himself]. But Conan, remembering the discomforts of his own abduction, claimed that fifteen of Avarta's men should make the return journey on the same monstrous horse, Avarta himself clinging to its tail [that fourteen of Avartach's best women should return astride the horse, Avartach's own wife at its tail] [[that the Gilla should return with the Fianna in their ship and

¹ In the folk-tale (J. Curtin *op. cit.* p. 522 ff.) there is here a considerable divergence. The Knight of Valour tells Dyeermud that the Hard Gilla is a champion resident in his realm, who is keeping the Fianna safe and sound. After challenging and overthrowing the usurping King of Tír Fohin, Dyeermud and the Knight of Valour, now installed as the rightful king, repair to the Gilla's castle, where they receive a warm welcome. Fin meantime, having helped the King of Sorách, waited in his castle till Goll, Oscar, and a druid had sailed to the land of the High King and brought back Tessa Taov Geal by force. The King of Sorách knew the Hard Gilla well and escorted Fin and his comrades to the Gilla's castle, where they met Dyeermud and the missing thirty.

afterwards ride home on his own horse]]. Finn and the Fianna then sailed back to Erin, where much to their amusement and amazement Avarta and his fifteen, hideous horse and all, joined them at Knockainy, and on a sudden vanished into thin air. [[The Gilla, having returned with the Fianna in their ship, recrossed the sea on an invisible horse]]. [Finn married Taise at Almhain in Leinster.]

Prof. A. C. L. Brown,¹ commenting on this singular recital, points out that in all probability the Knight of Valour, who (though Dermat would not recognise him) had served Finn for a year and a day, was none other than the Gilla Dacker, who had agreed to serve Finn for a year; and that consequently it was this Knight of Valour who alone could reveal the true name and nature of the Gilla Dacker.² That revelation was to the effect that the Gilla Dacker was one form of *Avartach mac Allchaid Ioldathach*, 'Avarta, son of Allchad of the Many-coloured Raiment,' who had a mansion in the realm of Manannan. In short, the Gilla Dacker=the Knight of Valour=Avarta, a confessed shape-shifter. Prof. Brown³ further observes that this *Avartach mac Allchaid Ioldathach* appears among the Tuatha Dé Danann in *The Pursuit of Diarmuid and Grainne*⁴ as *Abhortach mac an Iol-dathaigh*, 'Abhortach, the son of the Many-coloured one,' along with *Ilbhreac mac Mhanandín*, 'The variously-spotted one, son of Manannan,' and suggests that this connexion with Manannan warrants us in referring the epithets *Ioldathach* and *Ilbhreac* to shape-shifting, or change of colour and form. Lastly, Prof. Brown⁵ writes: 'It would be natural to suppose that some connection must exist

¹ A. C. L. Brown *Iwain* p. 107 f.

² This conclusion might be further supported by the folk-tale (J. Curtin *op. cit.* p. 522), in which the Knight of Valour says to Dyeermud: 'I am the man . . . that will find out the Hard Gilla for you. That Gilla is the best swordsman and champion in this land, and the greatest enchanter . . . He is a good friend of mine.'

³ A. C. L. Brown *Iwain* p. 106 n. 1.

⁴ *Transactions of the Ossianic Society for 1835* iii. 117 ff.

⁵ A. C. L. Brown *Iwain* p. 108 n. 1.

between *Avartach* and *Avallac*, the Welsh name both for the Other World and for the King of the Other World, were it not that the phonetic change of Welsh *ll* to Irish *rt* is contrary to rule. The two names, however, as pronounced, would sound very nearly alike.'

The identification of the Gilla Dacker with *Avartach*, which is certain, and the identification of both with the Knight of Valour, which in some sense or other is highly probable, have an important bearing on our main thesis. The Gilla Dacker gave himself out to be a Fomor of Lochlann.¹ In that respect he resembles Searbhan Lochlannach.² And further investigation confirms the substantial similarity of the two figures. Both are hideous black giants armed with an iron club. Searbhan defends a sacred quicken-tree; and the Gilla Dacker, in so far as he is one with the Knight of Valour, has a great fruit-tree in his domain, defended by the Knight of the Fountain, who with a golden crown on his head is usurping the post of king. Again, the Gilla Dacker is expressly identified with *Avartach*, owner of a mansion in the realm of Manannan. If Prof. Brown is right in equating *Avartach* with *Avallach* (and we have ere now seen a yet stranger distortion of the latter word³), *Avartach* was lord of the Otherworld apple-tree, and derived his name from that fact.⁴ Thus Searbhan of the quicken-tree was strictly analogous to *Avartach* of the apple-tree. May we not suppose that, as the name *Avartach* meant in its original form 'He of the Apple-tree,' so the name *Searbhan* meant originally 'He of the Quicken-tree' (*sorbus aucuparia* L.), being in fact *Sorbanus from *sorba*, 'a quicken-tree'? However that may be, the Gilla Dacker, being one with *Avartach*, was likewise lord of an Otherworld apple-tree, so that we are enabled to offer a fair conjecture as to the species of the great fruit-tree guarded by the Knight of the Fountain.

¹ *Supra* p. 27.

² *Folk-lore* xvii. 308 n. 2.

³ *Folk-lore* xvii. 439, 453.

⁴ *Id.* 308 n. 3.

Moreover, we can now eliminate the Scandinavian element from this and other such tales. For it appears that the Gilla Dacker or Searbhan is the Scandinavian equivalent for the Celtic lord of the Otherworld tree—an inference that I shall hope to establish elsewhere. Finally, since the Knight of the Fountain acted as the royal champion of a fruit-tree (? apple-tree) belonging to the Gilla Dacker, *alias Avartach*, we obtain by analogy valid ground for believing what for other reasons we were already prepared to believe, *vis.* that Diarmuid, when he defended the quicken-tree of Searbhan at Dubhros, was indeed a king acting the part of a god.

Searbhan, 'He of the Quicken-tree,' and *Avallach*, 'He of the Apple-tree,' were alike perpetuated by the Christian saint Serf or Servanus, who drew his name from the one and his legend from the other. The berry of the quicken-tree, otherwise known as the fowler's service-tree,¹ was in Middle English *serf*, corresponding to an Anglo-Saxon *syrf* in *syrf-trēow* (i.e. sirf-tree, service-tree),² while *Servanus* appears to be the Latinised form of *Searbhan* (Sharving). Like *Avallach* he had a sacred apple-tree; for the legend is that, when St. Serf on his way to Fife threw his staff across the sea from Inch Keith to Culross, it straightway took root and became the apple-tree called *Morglas*,³ 'the Great Green-one.' Again, St. Serf's island in Lochleven,⁴ like that of St. Mourie in his eponymous lake,⁵ may well have been the Christian successor of a pagan Otherworld abode. The counterpart of the spring

¹ E. Step *Wayside and Woodland Trees* p. 108.

² W. W. Skeat *A Concise Etymological Dictionary of the English Language* new ed. Oxford 1901 p. 476.

³ R. Folkard *Plant Lore, Legends, and Lyrics* p. 219.

⁴ A. Kerr 'Description of the ecclesiastical remains existing upon St. Serf's island, Lochleven' in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* Edinburgh 1882 iv. 159 ff.

⁵ *Folk-lore* xvii. 331 ff.

belonging to the Gilla Dacker (*Avallack*) would thus be St. Serf's well at Monzievaird in Perthshire, or St. Servan's well at Alva in Stirlingshire, or St. Shear's well at Dumbarton in Dumbartonshire, all of which are accounted miraculous.¹ It is noteworthy, too, that at Culross it was a very ancient custom for the young men to go in procession through the streets carrying green boughs on July 1, the feast of St. Serf. The town cross (? the descendant of a sacred tree) was decorated with garlands and ribbons, and the procession passed several times round it before disbanding to spend the day in amusements.²

The mention of green boughs suggests an objection that might be taken to the position here assigned to Diarmuid. If he was indeed the foster-child of Manannan, privileged to visit the Otherworld tree, ought he not, like Bran or Cormac or Mael-Duin, to bear a branch in token of the same? Now we read in *The Pursuit of Diarmuid and Grainne*³ that Diarmuid had with him 'the Crann buidhe of Manannan,' which he used as a magic spear. But *crann buidhe* means literally the 'yellow branch,' the word *crann* denoting a 'tree' or 'branch.' It may, I think, be inferred that, just as the shaft of Duach's spear was formed of the yew of Ross,⁴ so the shaft of Diarmuid's spear was formed of Manannan's tree.

But it is time to turn from these Ossianic myths and enquire whether they, like the Ultonian myths, can be paralleled from the Arthurian cycle. Diarmuid fighting Searbhan beneath the quicken-tree of Dubhros, or attacking the Knight of the Fountain that belonged to the Gilla

¹ J. R. Walker in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* (Edinburgh): 1883 v. 201, Dom Michael Barrett *A Calendar of Scottish Saints* Fort-Augustus 1904 p. 96.

² Dom Michael Barrett *ib.* p. 96 f.

³ *Transactions of the Ossianic Society for 1835* iii. 87, cp. *ib.* 91 and 173 the *Ga buidhe*, or 'Yellow shaft.'

⁴ *Folk-lore* xvii. 69.

Dacker, finds in fact his nearest analogue in Iwain or Owen.¹ This will appear from a perusal of the *Yvain* of Chrétien de Troyes and the *Iwein* of Hartmann von Aue side by side with *The Lady of the Fountain*, an Arthurian tale included in the Welsh *Mabinogion*.

Chrétien's poem is summarised as follows by Prof. A. C. L. Brown :²

"The story opens at Carduel in Wales, where Arthur is holding court. King Arthur and the queen have withdrawn to their chambers, and Calogrenant has begun a tale to the assembled knights, of whom Iwain is one. The queen enters to hear it also, and he begins again at her request. "About seven years ago," says Calogrenant, "I wandered all day through the Forest of Broceliande till I came to a strongly fortified place. The lord of the *forteresse* gave me a splendid welcome, and a fair maid disarmed me and entertained me in a meadow till supper. The supper was entirely to my taste because of the maid who sat opposite to me. I spent a pleasant night in that castle. In the morning I set out, and not far off I found fierce bulls fighting and a black creature with a head larger than a horse's, armed with a club, guarding them. Finding that this creature could speak, I asked him to direct me to some adventure. He showed me the path to a fountain, telling me also what I might do. I reached the fountain about noon. By it stood the most beautiful tree that ever grew on earth. I took a basin of gold that was attached by a chain to the tree, and, dipping up some water, I poured it on the rock. Forthwith there ensued a terrible storm of wind and rain; then a calm in which the birds sang sweetly on the tree. After this there appeared a knight on horseback, who attacked and overthrew me. I came home on foot like a fool and like a fool have told my story."

During the talk that follows, Arthur comes out of his chamber, hears the story repeated, and declares that he will go with his knights within a fortnight, namely just before St. John the Baptist's Day, to essay the adventure. Iwain, however, is anxious to try it alone; so he steals away secretly. He is entertained at night by the Hospitable Host; next morning he sees the Giant Herdsman, and he comes at last to the Fountain Perilous. He pours

¹The similarity of the story of the Gilla Dacker to that of Iwain or Owen is pointed out by A. Nutt in *The Celtic Magazine* 1887 xii. 355, by Rhys *Hibbert Lectures* p. 186 ff., by F. Lot in *Romania* 1892 xxi. 67 ff., and by A. C. L. Brown *Iwain* p. 103 ff.

²A. C. L. Brown *Iwain* p. 13 ff. The most convenient text is that of W. Foerster—Kristian von Troyes *Yvain (Der Löwenritter)* ed. 2 Halle u. S. 1902 = *Romanische Bibliothek* vol. v.—with introduction, notes, and glossary. See also Foerster's large critical edition—Christian von Troyes vol. ii *Yvain* Halle 1887.

water on the rock. The storm follows. After this the armed knight appears and attacks Iwain. They fight till Iwain deals the knight a blow that cleaves his helmet and wounds him in the brain. The knight flees, pursued by Iwain, through the streets of a town and up to the gate of a palace. The knight rides under a sharp iron gate, which is arranged to drop like the fall of a rat trap if one touches the spring. Iwain follows hard after, and his horse accidentally touches the spring. The gate falls close behind Iwain and with its knife edge cuts his horse in two, cutting off the hinder part of the saddle and also the rider's spurs. Another gate at the same time descends in front, and Iwain is imprisoned in a *rat*. But a damsel, called Lunete, issues from a narrow door and recognises him as Iwain, son of King Urien. She was once sent on a message by her lady to King Arthur's court, and, perhaps because she was not so courteous as a damsel ought to be, no knight deigned to speak to her except Iwain. He honored and served her, and she is glad to recompense him now. She gives Iwain a magic ring that, when the stone set in it is enclosed in the hand, makes its wearer invisible, and she brings him food to eat. Presently men come with clubs and swords, seeking him who slew their lord, Esclados le Ros. They do not find Iwain, for the ring renders him invisible. Lunete's mistress, whose name is Laudine, a most beautiful lady, now enters, weeping for her lord, who is carried on a bier. When the corpse is brought into the hall where Iwain is, it begins to bleed. The men feel confident that the murderer must be hidden there, and they renew their search. When Iwain sees Laudine, he is smitten with violent love for her. He even watches the funeral, so as to catch a better glimpse of her. He refuses to go when Lunete offers to help him to escape. Lunete persuades her lady that she ought to feel no hatred against the knight who slew her husband. She reminds her that the Damselle Sauvage has sent word that King Arthur is coming within a week to essay the Fountain. Laudine feels that a knight is needed to defend it. Lunete tells her that the knight who slew her husband would undertake to do it. When Laudine learns that his name is Iwain she consents. Iwain is terrified when ushered into Laudine's presence and says that anything she may lay upon him, even death, he will take without ill will. She receives him kindly when he promises to defend the Fountain. Iwain and the lady are speedily married, and there is great joy.

The wedding feast lasts till King Arthur comes to essay the adventure of the Fountain. Kay is assigned to the adventure. The king pours water on the rock, and presently Iwain appears mounted on a powerful horse and overthrows Kay. Iwain then reveals himself to Arthur and escorts him and his knights to the castle, where they are entertained for a week.

When Arthur departs, Iwain is persuaded to accompany him. Laudine does not give Iwain permission to go till he has promised to return within a year. If he does not come back by that time, "her love will turn to hate." She gives Iwain a ring that will protect him from imprisonment and be his shield and hauberk. A year has passed, and Iwain is busy in tournaments. Suddenly he recollects that he has overstayed his time. The same instant

a damsel rides up and calls him a hypocrite, and a thief who has stolen her lady's heart and forgotten his promise to return. She demands back the ring. When Iwain does not reply, she snatches the ring from his finger and departs. Iwain goes mad and runs into the forest, where he lives like a beast. A hermit supplies him with musty bread. At length one day a lady, accompanied by two damsels, finds a naked man asleep in the forest. One of the damsels recognizes Iwain by a scar on his cheek. At her request the lady allows the damsel to bring a box of ointment, a gift from Morgue the Wise, by means of which Iwain is cured of his madness. In return Iwain frees the lady from the oppression of a powerful enemy, Count Alier.

As Iwain is riding through a deep forest, he finds a serpent and a lion fighting. He succors the lion and slays the serpent. The lion kneels down before Iwain and indicates by his tears that he thanks him. After this the lion accompanies Iwain everywhere. Iwain comes to the Fountain Perilous and finds Lunete shut up in the little chapel near by. She tells Iwain a wicked seneschal has accused her of treason in persuading Laudine to marry Iwain. She is to be burned to-morrow unless a knight can be found who will fight the seneschal and two others, in order to prove her innocence. Iwain promises to undertake the combat but is obliged to go some distance before he finds lodgings for the night at a castle. This castle is beset by a giant, Harpin of the Mountain, who will kill the lord's sons or carry off the daughter of the house in the morning unless a champion can be found to fight him. Iwain promises to fight the giant if the latter appears early in the morning; otherwise he shall be obliged to go to keep his promise and save Lunete. In the morning Iwain waits till prime for the giant to appear, and, as he does not come, is distracted in his mind whether to go or stay. At last Harpin comes and Iwain subdues him, aided in the struggle by his faithful lion. Iwain rides hurriedly to the Fountain Perilous, and arrives in time to rescue Lunete by fighting at once the wicked seneschal and two others. The lion again helps Iwain. Laudine does not know who Iwain is. He calls himself the Knight of the Lion.

Iwain is met by a messenger from the younger daughter of the lord of La Noire Espine. The lord is dead, and the elder daughter has usurped all the land and secured Gawain to defend her claim. Iwain, who does not know that his opponent will be Gawain, agrees to fight for the younger daughter. He does not reveal his own name but is called the Knight of the Lion. Iwain and the messenger come to a place called the Castle of Ill Adventure and are advised not to enter. They do enter, however, and find three hundred girls behind a row of stakes. These girls are pale and thin and obliged to toil at working silk with thread of gold. It is explained that many years ago the King of the Isle of Maidens went like a fool in search of adventure. He fell into the power of two "*fis de deable*" who own this castle. Being not yet eighteen years old, he ransomed himself as best he could by swearing to send each year thirty maidens as tribute till the monsters should be vanquished. Iwain is well entertained for the night by

the lord and lady of the castle, but in the morning he is obliged to fight the monsters. He overcomes them, with the aid of his lion, and frees the maidens. Iwain arrives at Arthur's court clad in armor and known as the Knight of the Lion. Gawain, too, is disguised by his armor, and the two friends fight a terrible battle. When night comes on, they grow tired, and reveal themselves to each other. There is great joy, and people are surprised to see how evenly they are matched.

Iwain soon returns to the Fountain Perilous and stirs up such a storm that the castle is almost destroyed. Lunete is sent to find out who is at the Fountain, and by her mediation Iwain is reconciled to Laudine. Now Iwain has peace and through joy the past is forgotten.'

Chrétien wrote his *Yvain* between 1164 and 1173.¹ Hartmann von Aue had completed his *Iwein* in 1204.² But since the latter poet appears to have been wholly dependent upon the former for his materials,³ his work need not be separately analysed. The same may be said of *Ywain and Gawain*, a Middle English metrical romance written probably in the first half of the fourteenth century by an unknown author, whose source was undoubtedly Chrétien's poem summarised above.⁴

No such dependence can be proved in the case of *The Lady of the Fountain*, which is found first in the White Book of Rhydderch, a Welsh manuscript older than the Red Book of Hergest⁵ written in the latter half of the fourteenth century.⁶ Prof. Foerster indeed holds that *The Lady of the Fountain* is merely a prose rendering of Chrétien's poem made in the fourteenth century;⁷ and that the 'kernel' of both is the theme of the Easily

¹ W. Foerster in *Romanische Bibliothek* vol. v. p. ix ff.

² Hartmann von Aue *Iwein* (*Der Ritter mit dem Löwen*) ed. by E. Henrici Halle a. S. 1891-1893 vol. ii. p. vi.

³ E. Henrici *ib.*: 'nur die geschichte vom raube der königin ist zugekommen, und auch diese wahrscheinlich aus Christians Karrenritter entlehnt.' See further Miss J. L. Weston *The Legend of Sir Gawain* p. 67 ff.

⁴ G. Schleich *Yvain and Gawain* Oppeln and Leipzig 1887 pp. xxiv, xxxix.

⁵ Rhys *Hibbert Lectures* p. 402 n. 1.

⁶ J. Rhys and J. G. Evans *The Red Book of Hergest* Oxford 1887 i. p. xiii.

⁷ Christian von Troyes ed. W. Foerster vol. ii. *Yvain* Halle 1887 p. xix ff., Kristian von Troyes *Yvain* ed. 2 W. Foerster (*Romanische Bibliothek* vol. v.) Halle a. S. 1902 p. ii.

Consoled Widow best known from *The Matron of Ephesus* in the writings of Petronius,¹ Phaedrus,² etc.³ But the views of this eminent scholar have been severely handled, not to say pulverised, by Mr. A. Nutt and Prof. A. C. L. Brown. Mr. Nutt,⁴ laying just stress on the clearer arrangement and far finer style of the Welsh tale, inclines to agree with M. Gaston Paris⁵ that behind *Yvain* and *The Lady of the Fountain* lies a lost Anglo-Norman romance, of which both extant works are but versions, the former in French poetry, the latter in Welsh prose,—a theory to a large extent identical with that put forward in 1869 by Dr. C. Rauch.⁶ And Prof. A. C. L. Brown,⁷ following in the steps of a whole series of scholars,⁸ has triumphantly demonstrated the essentially Celtic character of all the main incidents in the story. The resultant theory of the relations between *Yvain* and *The Lady of the Fountain* may be indicated thus:

Celtic source or sources

Anglo-Norman romance

Chrétien de Troyes *Yvain*

The Lady of the Fountain

Hartmann von Aue *Iwein*

Ywain and Gawain

¹ Petr. sat. 111 f.

² Phaedr. app. 13.

³ Christian von Troyes ed. W. Foerster vol. i. *Cligès* Halle 1884 p. xvi, vol. ii. *Yvain* Halle 1887 p. xxi, Kristian von Troyes *Yvain* ed. 2 W. Foerster Halle a. S. 1902 p. xvii ff.

⁴ Lady Charlotte Guest *The Mabinogion* with notes by A. Nutt London 1904 p. 347 ff.

⁵ G. Paris in *Romania* 1881 x. 463 ff.

⁶ C. Rauch *Die wälische, französische und deutsche Bearbeitung der Iwein Sage* Berlin 1869 p. 17 f.

⁷ A. C. L. Brown *Iwein passion*.

⁸ See H. Goossens *Über Sage, Quelle und Komposition des Chevalier au Lyon des Crestien de Troyes* Paderborn 1883. So A. Nutt in *The Celtic Magazine*

On this showing it is obvious that, in order to get back to the ultimate Celtic basis of the tale, we must take into account not only Chrétien's *Yvain* but also *The Lady of the Fountain*.¹ It will be advisable first to resume the story and then to consider it in connexion with *Yvain*.

King Arthur, holding his court at Caerlleon upon Usk, one day sleeps before his repast, after bidding Owain, Kynon, and Kai entertain each other with tales and good cheer. Kai provides meet and drink, while Kynon begins a tale. 'I once set forth on a journey to discover whether any man was stronger than myself. I came to the fairest valley in the world, where stood a large and lustrous castle. Near it were two princely youths engaged in shooting, and a richly-clad man who brought me courteously to the castle. In it dwelt none save four and twenty beauteous damsels. They tended me and my horse, and we all made merry at a feast. After the feast I told the man who I was and what I sought. He bade me sleep there the night and go on my way the next morning. "A little way within the wood," said he, "thou wilt meet with a road branching off to the right, by which thou must proceed, until thou comest to a large sheltered glade with a mound in the centre. And thou wilt see a black man of great stature on the top of the mound. He is not smaller in size than two of the men of this world. He has but one foot; and one eye in the middle of his forehead. And he has a club of iron, and it is certain that there are no two men in the world who would not find their burden in that club. And he is not a comely man, but on the contrary he is exceedingly ill-favoured; and he is the woodward of that wood. And thou wilt see a thousand wild animals grazing around him. Inquire of him the way out of the glade, and he will reply to thee briefly, and will point out the road by which thou shalt find that which thou art in quest of." On the morrow I found the one-eyed giant, as directed, and asked him what power he held over the wild animals around him. Hereupon he took his club and struck a stag a great blow so that it brayed aloud, and at its braying the beasts flocked together. The giant bade them go and feed;

1887 xii. 555. G. Paris in *Romania* 1888 xvii. 334 f., E. Muret in the *Revue Critique* 1890 xxix. 66 ff., A. Ahlström 'Sur l'Origine du Chevalier au Lion' in the *Mélanges dédiés à Carl Wahlund* Mâcon 1896 p. 289 ff., G. Haist in the *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 1897 xxi. 402 ff., G. L. Kittredge in the *Nation* New York Feb. 24 1898 lvi. 150 f. Cp. A. Mussafia in the *Literaturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie* 1889 x. 220 ff.

¹Lady Charlotte Guest *The Mabinogion* London 1877 p. 3 ff., with notes by A. Nutt London 1904 p. 167 ff., J. Loth *Les Mabinogion* Paris 1889 ii. 1 ff. The best edition of the Welsh text is J. Rhys and J. G. Evans *The Red Book of Ihergest* Oxford 1887 i. 162 ff.

and they did homage to him as vassals to their lord. I then inquired of him the way; and he became very rough in his manner. However, when I disclosed my name and my errand, he directed me further. "Take," said he, "that path that leads towards the head of the glade, and ascend the wooded steep until thou comest to its summit; and there thou wilt find an open space like to a large valley, and in the midst of it a tall tree, whose branches are greener than the greenest pine-trees. Under this tree is a fountain, and by the side of the fountain a marble slab, and on the marble slab a silver bowl, attached by a chain of silver, so that it may not be carried away. Take the bowl and throw a bowlful of water upon the slab, and thou wilt hear a mighty peal of thunder, so that thou wilt think that heaven and earth are trembling with its fury. With the thunder there will come a shower so severe that it will be scarce possible for thee to endure it and live. And the shower will be of hailstones; and after the shower, the weather will become fair, but every leaf that was upon the tree will have been carried away by the shower. Then a flight of birds will come and alight upon the tree; and in thine own country thou didst never hear a strain so sweet as that which they will sing. And at the moment thou art most delighted with the song of the birds, thou wilt hear a murmuring and complaining coming towards thee along the valley. And thou wilt see a knight upon a coal-black horse, clothed in black velvet, and with a pennon of black linen upon his lance; and he will ride unto thee to encounter thee with the utmost speed. If thou fleest from him he will overtake thee, and if thou abidest here, as sure as thou art a mounted knight, he will leave thee on foot. And if thou dost not find trouble in that adventure, thou needst not seek it during the rest of thy life." Hearing this, I pressed on and found everything as the giant had told me. I charged the knight valiantly, but was overthrown. He rode off with my horse, leaving me where I was. So I returned in dejection by the way that I came, being derided for my pains by the giant, but entertained as before by my hospitable host and furnished with another palfrey. In truth I deem it strange that such an adventure should exist within King Arthur's dominions unknown to all save me.'

Arthur now wakes from his sleep and sits down to meat with his household. At dawn next day Owain takes up the quest. He too meets the hospitable host, the one-eyed giant, and the black knight, as Kynon had done. But, after breaking his lance, Owain strikes the knight so fierce a blow with his sword that he cleaves his helmet and wounds his very brain. The knight turns and flees into a great castle hotly pursued by Owain, whose horse is cut in two by the descending portcullis. The inner gate being closed, Owain finds himself caught in a trap. A damsel called Luned, on the ground that she has never seen one more faithful in the service of ladies, helps him in his distress. She gives him a ring conferring invisibility on its wearer, and promises to await him on the horse-block, where he is to place his hand upon her shoulder in token that he, though unseen, is present. When the people of the castle come to seek him, they find nothing but the half of his horse.

Owain follows Luned into a beautiful chamber, where he is feasted and put to sleep by her. At daybreak he witnesses the funeral procession of the knight whom he has slain and falls in love with the knight's lady. Luned describes her as 'the fairest, and the most chaste, and the most liberal, and the wisest, and the most noble of women,' but gives her no name but the Countess of the Fountain. While Owain sleeps again, Luned goes to woo the Countess for him. At first the Countess resents her words. But Luned argues as follows: 'Unless thou canst defend the fountain, thou canst not maintain thy dominions; and no one can defend the fountain except it be a knight of Arthur's household; and I will go to Arthur's Court, and ill betide me if I return thence without a warrior who can guard the fountain, as well as, or even better than, he who defended it formerly.' The Countess bids her go. She returns with Owain. The Countess detects in him the slayer of her lord. 'So much the better for thee, lady,' says Luned, 'for had he not been stronger than thy lord he could not have deprived him of life.' The Countess, having taken counsel of her assembled subjects, then marries Owain. And thenceforward, we read, 'Owain defended the fountain with lance and sword. And this is the manner in which he defended it: whenever a knight came there he overthrew him, and sold him for his full worth, and what he thus gained he divided among his barons and his knights; and no man in the whole world could be more beloved than he was by his subjects. And it was thus for the space of three years.'

At the end of that time Arthur and his household, guided by Kynon, set out to seek for Owain. They too come to the hospitable host, the giant, and a black knight. Kai obtains leave to essay the adventure, but is overthrown. Next day he tries again, but again is overthrown and sore wounded. After that, the whole household, man by man, attacks the knight with a like result. Gwalchmai and Arthur alone remain. Arthur is arming himself for the fray, when Gwalchmai begs permission to attempt the combat before him. Arthur consents; and all that day until the evening Gwalchmai and the black knight fight without either unhorsing the other. On the morrow they fight again with equal fortune. On the third day at noon they both are thrown, but rise and renew the struggle with swords till fire flashes from their weapons. One of Owain's blows discloses Gwalchmai's face. They recognise each other amid great rejoicings. The day following all repair to the castle of the Countess of the Fountain, where they are entertained with a banquet of three months' duration.

Arthur now induces the Countess to allow Owain to go with him to the Island of Britain. She gives him leave of absence for three months. But he stays away for three years. One day, as he sits at meat in Caerlleon upon Usk a damsel rides up to him and, with taunting words, takes the ring from his finger. Owain then remembers his promise and roams the mountains in distress, feeding familiarly with wild beasts till he becomes too weak to bear them company. A widowed countess and her maidens find him exhausted in their park. The countess bids one of the

maidens anoint him with a flask of precious ointment and bring him a horse and clothing. In gratitude Owain rescues the countess from a young earl, who is oppressing her. He then resumes his wanderings through distant lands and deserts.

In a forest he comes upon a serpent and a black lion fighting. He kills the serpent and is followed by the lion, which forages for him. He next finds Luned imprisoned in a stone vault. She had defended his character, when two pages of the Countess of the Fountain had called him a deceiver. In two days' time they will put her to death, unless he himself appears to rescue her. Owain, without revealing his name, withdraws to a neighbouring castle for food and shelter. The earl who lives in this castle is downcast, because a man-eating giant of the mountain has seized his two sons and threatens to slay them on the morrow unless the earl's daughter is delivered up in their stead. Next morning Owain fights the giant and, thanks to his lion, is victorious. He now hastens away to protect Luned and arrives just as the pages are about to cast her into a great fire. He attacks them both at once, and again the lion comes to his aid and destroys the pair of them. Owain then returns with Luned to the Countess of the Fountain, whom he takes with him as his wife to Arthur's court.

Owain visits the court of the savage black man and fights with him. The lion does not quit Owain until he has vanquished his foe. In the black man's hall Owain sees four and twenty fair ladies in deep sorrow. The demon who owns the castle has slain their husbands and robbed them of their horses and raiment and money. Outside the castle Owain is saluted in friendly fashion by a knight, who is the savage black man himself. Owain attacks, overcomes, and binds him, as had been foretold, but grants him his life on condition that he becomes the keeper of an hospice. Next day Owain returns with the four and twenty ladies and their possessions to Arthur's court. 'And thenceforward,' says the tale, 'Owain dwelt at Arthur's court greatly beloved, as the head of his household, until he went away with his followers; and those were the army of three hundred ravens which Kenverchyn had left him. And wherever Owain went with these he was victorious.'

We are now in a position to reconstruct the lost Anglo-Norman romance that lies behind *Yvain* and *The Lady of the Fountain*. Confining our attention to the incidents that occur in both, we obtain the following outline:

While King Arthur is holding his court at Carduel in Wales (Caerlleon upon Usk), his knights converse and one of them named Calogrenant (Kynon) recounts a tale. In search of adventure he had once come first to the castle of a hospitable host, then to a monstrous black herdsman armed with a club, and lastly to a wonderful tree standing beside a stone and a fountain, which fountain was guarded by a knight on horseback. Having unsuccessfully attacked the knight, he had returned home in dejection.

Iwain (Owain), on hearing this tale, departs by stealth to essay the same adventure. More successful than his predecessor, he deals the knight a mortal wound, and, though his horse is cut in half by a falling portcullis, and himself entrapped at the entrance, makes his way into the knight's palace. He is enabled to do so by the maid Lunete (Luned), who gives him a ring rendering him invisible and afterwards pleads his cause with her mistress Laudine (the Countess of the Fountain). Iwain (Owain) now weds the widow of the knight and undertakes to defend the fountain in his stead.

Arthur and his knights next come to the fountain. Kay (Kai) is deputed to attempt the combat, but is overthrown by Iwain (Owain). The latter reveals himself, and invites Arthur and the knights to a feast in the castle of Laudine (the Countess of the Fountain).

When Arthur leaves, she allows Iwain (Owain) to leave with him, but only on condition that he shall return within a year (three months). Forgetful of this condition, he overstays his time. A damsel rides up, abuses him, and carries off his ring. He roams in the wilderness, living the life of a beast. A lady with her damsels finds him exhausted on the ground and heals him by means of a magic ointment. In return he frees her from a powerful foe.

He sees a serpent and a lion fighting in a forest, slays the serpent, and thereby secures the services of the lion. He finds Lunete (Luned) imprisoned for taking his part and condemned to be burned next day (in two days' time). He seeks lodging for the night in a neighbouring castle, beset by a giant of the mountain, who threatens to carry off the lord's sons or his daughter. Iwain (Owain) and the lion slay this giant. They then hasten on and rescue Lunete (Luned) by fighting and destroying her adversaries. Iwain (Owain) finally returns with Lunete (Luned) to Laudine (the Countess of the Fountain).

Prof. A. C. L. Brown¹ has gone far towards proving that the whole of this romance is based on a Celtic folk-tale of the Fairy Mistress type. He holds that the first half of the romance, down to the point at which Iwain (Owain) is cured by the magic ointment, reproduces a Celtic original comparable with *The Sick-bed of Cuchulain* (*Serglige Conculaind*),² and that the second half of the romance similarly rests on a Celtic tale resembling *The Wooing of Emer* (*Torchmarc Emer*), in which a lion guides and carries Cuchulain on his way

¹ A. C. L. Brown *Iwain* in *Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature* Boston 1903 viii. 1-147, *id.* *The Knight of the Lion* in *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* Cambridge Mass. 1905 xx. (N.S. xiii.) 673-706.

² *Folk-lore* xvii. 148 ff.

to the Otherworld.¹ The two halves would thus be complementary parts of one and the same myth. The first tells how a mortal is invited to fairyland, journeys thither successfully and weds a fairy queen, but disobeys her injunctions, loses her, becomes insane and has to be cured by a magic remedy. The second tells of a wondrous journey, in which the hero, aided by a helpful beast, fights his way through terrible dangers back into the Otherworld and so returns to live with his supernatural wife.

While accepting in the main Prof. Brown's conclusions, I would urge—and he would hardly deny it²—that the larger part of our romance is paralleled by *The Slothful Gillie* even more nearly than by *The Sick-bed of Cuchulain*. This will be readily seen from the following table of contents :

The Slothful Gillie.

Finn and his chiefs assembled at
Collkilla.

The black club-bearing giant (Gilla
Dacker).

Dermot comes to a great fruit-tree
standing beside a pillar-stone and
a spring.

The hospitable host (Knight of
Valour).

Yvain + The Lady of the Fountain.

Arthur and his knights at Carduel
in Wales (Caerlleon upon Usk).
The hospitable host.

The black club-bearing giant (giant
herdsman).

Iwain (Owain) comes to a won-
derful tree standing beside a
stone and a fountain.

¹ The tale exists in two versions, a longer (s. xi.) and a shorter (s. viii.). The text of the longer version was published by K. Meyer in the *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 1901 iii. 229 ff., and an English translation by the same scholar in *The Archaeological Review* 1888 i. 68 ff., 150 ff., 231 ff., 298 ff.: cp. E. Hull *The Cuchullin Saga* London 1898 p. 55 ff., Lady Gregory *Cuchulain of Muirtheinne* p. 21 ff. Text and English translation of the shorter version by K. Meyer in the *Revue celtique* xi. 434 ff.; French translation in D'Arbois *L'épopée celtique* p. 39 ff.

² In *Iwain* p. 103 ff. Prof. Brown himself lays stress on the resemblance of *Yvain* to *In Gilla Decair*. See *supra* p. 35 n. 1.

Dermat slays the champion (Knight of the Fountain) who guards the spring.

Finn and his chiefs come to the tree.

Meeting between Finn and Dermot.

Departure of Finn and Dermot.

Dermot, after a long voyage, recaptures Taise for Finn and joins him in the Land of Promise.

Iwain (Owain) slays the champion (the red or black knight) who guards the fountain.

Arthur and his knights come to the tree.

Meeting between Arthur and Iwain (Owain).

Departure of Arthur with Iwain (Owain).

Iwain (Owain), after a long journey, regains Laudine (the Countess of the Fountain).

So closely does *The Slothful Gillie* approximate to the common theme of *Yvain* and *The Lady of the Fountain*, that we may venture to explain several features of the Anglo-Norman romance by means of the Celtic folk-tale. To begin with, the Knight of the Fountain in *The Slothful Gillie* wears a scarlet mantle and a golden crown, posing as the king of Tir-fa-tonn. We may take it, then, that Esclados le Ros ('the Red') in *Yvain* and the black knight in *The Lady of the Fountain* were usurping the position of the Otherworld king.¹ Again, the hospitable host in *The Slothful Gillie*, who gives his name as the Knight of Valour, explains that he is the rightful king. Probably, therefore, the hospitable host in *Yvain* and *The Lady of the Fountain* was likewise the real king.² Moreover, we saw reason to believe

¹ A. C. L. Brown *Iwain* p. 42 f. compares Esclados le Ros with Manannan: 'The diligent reader of Arthurian material must feel a certain probability in this parallel between Esclados le Ros and Manannán, the tricky magician and shape-shifter of the Celts. The mysterious red knight who encountered Iwain at the fountain has absolutely no character of his own. One cannot but fancy that he was, in an earlier form of the story, some one in disguise.' If I am right, his surname 'Red' is the one survival of his royalty.

² G. Balst in the *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 1897 xxi. 403 acutely observes that the hospitable host and the giant herdsman may originally have had some more intimate connexion with the adventure than any that appears in *Yvain*. Cp. A. C. L. Brown *Iwain* p. 114: 'The Giant Herdsman, and probably therefore the Hospitable Host, must originally have been different appearances of the same Other-World being, a shape-shifter commissioned by the *fée* to guide the hero to her land.'

with Prof. Brown that the Knight of Valour was none other than the Gilla Dacker, or 'Slothful Gillie,' himself, who in turn was described as one form of Avartach, a dweller in the realm of Manannan. By parity of reasoning we may conclude that the hospitable host and the giant herdsman in the Anglo-Norman romance were but diverse forms of the same personage, presumably the human and the superhuman aspects of the Otherworld king. We have here to deal with a somewhat perplexing multiplicity of characters, *viz.* the hospitable host, the defender of the fountain, and the club-bearing giant, who all in a sense represent the Otherworld king. It may be surmised that, in the original Celtic source of the story, the hospitable host was the actual human monarch, living in his *dun* and characterised by that liberality which the Celts invariably ascribed to their ideal king,¹ while the champion of the tree and fountain undertook the woodland duties of his tabu-bound majesty, being related to him precisely as the king of the Fianna appears to have been related to the king of all Ireland.² As to the club-bearing giant or black man, whose dusky hue has in *The Lady of the Fountain* been extended to the woodland champion also, the analogy that I have already³ traced between the black club-bearing giant (the Gilla Dacker) in *The Slothful Gillie*, who came from Lochlann, and the black club-bearing giant (Searbhan) in *The Pursuit of Diarmuid and Grainne*, who bore the surname Lochlannach, makes it highly probable that we should here detect a trace of Scandinavian influence. The black-handed club-bearing giant slain by Cod, prince of Norway, was a similar Scandinavian figure.⁴ And in Donald MacPhie's version of *Manus the Athach*, another such monstrous giant, is sent by the king of Lochlann to

¹ *Folk-lore* xvii. 37 f., 46 f., 51 f., 167 f.

² *Supra* p. 6 f.

³ *Supra* p. 39 f.

⁴ *Supra* p. 28 f.

guide Fionn and his company to the home of the Lochlanners.¹ The association of a marvellous horse with the Gilla Dacker² points, I believe, in the same direction: a reminiscence of this horse perhaps accounts for Chrétien's black club-bearing monster, whose head is expressly said to have been larger than that of a horse.³

But if the Celtic folk-tale thus enables us to throw light on some obscure features of the Anglo-Norman romance, the converse process is no less useful. In *The Slothful Gillie* Dermot, according to all analogy, ought to have married the divine partner of the Knight of the Fountain: the existing, comparatively late, form of the story contains no such incident—at most we learn that Dermot recaptures Taise for Finn, whose name and fame have obviously ousted those of his follower. Prof. Brown⁴ remarks 'In the original form of the story . . . we must infer that Taise the *fée* fell in love with Diarmaid,' and suggests in a foot-note 'that a fairy mistress story about Finn has been worked into the *Gilla Decair*, and substituted for the original adventures of Diarmaid.'⁵ *Yvain* and *The Lady of the Fountain* have preserved the more primitive situation, in which Iwain (Owain), helped by Lunete (Luned), marries Laudine (the Countess of the

¹ J. F. Campbell *Popular Tales of the West Highlands* Edinburgh 1860-1862 iii. 364 ff., cp. *ib.* iv. 326 f. where a woodcut of a similar giant or *àchan* is given.

² *Supra* pp. 27, 30 f.

³ Chrétien *Yvain* 295 f.

⁴ A. C. L. Brown *Iwain* p. 113.

⁵ It is to be observed that in *The Daughter of King Under-waves* (J. F. Campbell *Popular Tales of the West Highlands* iii. 403 ff., *Lady Gregory Gods and Fighting Men* p. 319 ff.) Diarmaid, after admitting the *fée* to his couch, goes to live with her in a magic castle that she has raised above Beinn Eadlainn, loses her by neglecting to follow out her injunctions, pursues her to *Riaghachd Fo Thuin* or 'Realm Under-waves,' recovers her of a sickness by giving her three draughts from the cup of King Wonder-plain, but in the end takes a violent dislike to her and returns home without her. Cp. *supra* p. 26, and see further G. H. Maynadier *The Wife of Bath's Tale* London 1901 p. 21 ff.

Fountain). Comparison with *The Voyage of Bran*,¹ *The Adventures of Conula*,² and the tale of *Oisín and Niamh*³ leads me to believe that the messenger sent to the hero was originally the goddess herself, in fact that Lunete is merely a doublet of Laudine. If so, her name may be significant. In the early Celtic tales the fairy mistress was, if I am right, a sun-goddess, the sun being feminine in Irish and in Old Welsh. The Anglo-Norman romance-writer, to whom the sun was masculine, the moon feminine, naturally changed the sun-goddess to a moon-goddess. Thus it comes about that, whereas Diarmuid's partner was properly *Grainne*, Iwain's partner was re-named *Lunete* from *la lune*, 'the moon.' Chrétien expressly describes Lunete and Gauvain as *la lune et le soleil*,⁴ thereby confirming at once my present contention that Lunete represents the moon and my past contention that Gawain represents the sun.⁵

The tree defended by the Knight of the Fountain in *The Slothful Gillie* was 'a great tree laden with fruit,'⁶ probably an apple-tree.⁷ In *Yvain* it is said to be a pine, the most beautiful that ever grew on earth:

Bien sai de l'arbre, c'est la fins,
Que ce estoit li plus biaux pins,
Qui onques sor terre creüst.⁸

The Lady of the Fountain makes it 'a tall tree, whose branches are greener than the greenest pine-trees.'⁹ Huon de Mery, who wrote his poem *Li Tornoimens Antecrit* shortly after the year 1234,¹⁰ takes his cue

¹ *Folk-lore* xvii. 144 f.

² *Ib.* xvii. 146 f.

³ *Ib.* xvii. 147 f.

⁴ Chrétien *Yvain* 2398.

⁵ *Folk-lore* xvii. 343.

⁶ *Supra* p. 28.

⁷ *Supra* p. 32.

⁸ Chrétien *Yvain* 413 ff. In 414 cod. G reads *haus* ('tall') for *biaux* ('beautiful'), a reading adopted by Prof. A. C. L. Brown *Yvain* p. 83 n. 1.

⁹ *Supra* p. 35.

¹⁰ Huon de Mery *Li Tornoimens Antecrit* ed. by G. Wimmer (E. Stengel) *Ausgaben und Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiete der romanischen Philologie* lxxvi.) Marburg 1888 p. 11.

from Chrétien and speaks of the tree as a 'green pine':

Le bacin, le perron de marbre
Et le vert pin et la chaire
Trovaï en itele maniere
Comme l'a descrit Crestiens.¹

Hartmann von Aue, who commonly agrees with Chrétien even in details, here unexpectedly mentions 'a lime-tree, the most beautiful ever seen':

des schirmet im ein linde,
daz nie man schoener gesach:
dû ist sîn schat und sîn dach.
si ist breit hôch und alsô dic
daz regen noch der sunnen blic
niemer dar durch kumt.
irî schadet der winter noch envrunt
an ir schoene niht ein hâr,
sine stê geloubet durch daz jâr.²

In the Middle High German saga of *Ortnit* and *Wolfdietrich* we more than once hear of a lime-tree in a context that recalls the story of *Yvain*.³ The Middle English metrical romance *Yvain and Gawain*, despite

¹ Huon de Mery 100 ff. The author of *The Fairy Mythology* London 1828 ii. 217, after stating that Huon de Mery visited the Fountain of Barenton and the Perron ('horse-block') Merveilleux, continues: 'He sprinkled the Perron from the golden basin that hung from the oak that shaded it, and beheld all the marvels.' But Huon distinctly says 'pine,' not 'oak,' though in describing the thunder-storm that followed he mentions oaks and beeches:

129 ff. La foudre du ciel descendoit,
Qui tronçonnoit et pourfendoit
Parmi le bois chenes et fous.

² Hartmann von Aue *Iwein* 572 ff.

³ *Ortnit und die Wolfdietrichs* ed. A. Amelung and O. Jänicke (*Deutscher Heldenbuch* iii.) Berlin 1871 *Ortnit* stanza 84 (the lime-tree near Lake Garda under which Ortnit finds Alberich, king of the dwarfs), *Wolfdietrich B* stanza 350 ff. (the lime-tree near Lake Garda under which Wolfdietrich fights and overcomes Ortnit: later, he marries Ortnit's widow and becomes king in his stead), *ib.* stanza 807 ff. (the lime-tree under which was a marble bench and a brass man, who by means of two bellows and a hundred golden pipes made a hundred birds to sing on the tree). See further A. C. L. Brown *Iwein* p. 140 n., *The Knight of the Lion* p. 679 n. 3.

its dependence on Chrétien's poem, describes the tree as a 'thorne':

Pare I fand þe fayrest thorne,
 Þat ever groued, sen God was born:
 So thik it was with leves grene,
 Might no rayn cum þarbytweþe;
 And þat greneþ lastes ay,
 For no winter dere yt may.¹

Presumably the species of the tree varies according to the flora of the district in which the myth is localised.

The Anglo-Norman tale underlying *Yvain* and *The Lady of the Fountain* may be regarded as the source of several episodes contained in the old French prose-romance called the *Livre d'Artus*.² This work, which supplies us with a collateral version of Kalogrenant's adventure,³ confirms in a remarkable way several of the conclusions already drawn from a comparison of *Yvain* and *The Lady of the Fountain* with *The Slothful Gillie* and other definitely Celtic sources. The monstrous herdsman is here expressly said to be Merlin in disguise, who tells Kalogrenant that he is lord of the forest and that the fountain is defended by one of his relatives and friends. This to some extent supports my conjecture⁴ that the giant herdsman was originally a god, *vis.* the Otherworld king, whose human representative, king of the district, had a fighting deputy or champion at the fountain. Again, this champion is said in the *Livre d'Artus* to be Brehus-sans-pitié,⁵ a lover

¹ *Yvain and Gawain* 353 ff., cp. *ib.* 627.

² E. Freymond 'Beiträge zur Kenntnis der altfranzösischen Artusromane in Prosa' in the *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur* Berlin 1895 xvii. 1 ff. summarises the *Livre d'Artus* from a Paris MS. of the thirteenth century.

³ *Id. ib.* p. 53 ff.

⁴ *Supra* p. 47.

⁵ On whom see E. Freymond 'Zum *Livre d'Artus*' in the *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 1892 xvi. 125 f., E. Löseth *Le roman en prose de Tristan* Paris 1891 p. 300 f. s.v. 'Brehu(s), (Brun),' P. Rajna *Le fonti dell' Orlando Furioso* Firenze 1876 p. 106 ff.

of Lunete, Lunete herself being a cousin of Merlin's innamorata Niniane. Lunete has installed Brehus as defender of the fountain of Brecehande: he is to fight any knight who provokes the storm by pouring water from the basin on to the stone and is to take away his horse; if he is himself vanquished, the victor is to do with him what he pleases. In other words, Lunete here takes the place of Laudine or the Countess of the Fountain, whose doublet I hold her to be.¹ Lastly, instead of a pine growing by the fountain, we hear of a sycomore, to which the basin was attached by a chain,² though in another passage we are told that Kalogrenant fastened his horse to a pine standing beside the sycomore.³

These and other⁴ variations on the same theme all go back to one common Celtic myth, which itself, if I am not mistaken, implies a ritual practice strictly analogous to that of the *rex Nemorensis*. Curoi with his oak-branches foiled by Cuchulain, the Green Knight with his holly branch in the story of Gawain, King *Guiromelans* 'of the Mistletoe-bough' beaten by Gawain and Perceval, Searbhan Lochlannach who guarded the quicken-tree of Dubhros, the Knight of the Fountain worsted by Diarmuid near the great fruit-tree of Tir-fa-tonn, Esclados le Ros vanquished by Iwain beside the pine-tree of Brocéliande, what are they all but mythic echoes of the woodland king whose business it was to fight all comers beneath his sacred tree?

Nay more, if we accept Mr. A. Nutt's⁵ acute suggestion

¹ *Supra* p. 49 f.

² *Liens d'Artus* 88 p. 56.

³ *Ib.* 94 p. 58. The same variant, viz. a sycomore for a pine, is found in Christian von Troyes *Erec und Enide* ed. W. Foerster Halle 1890 p. 210 line 5834: it occurs in the episode of *La joie de la Cort*, which is summarised by A. C. L. Brown *Iwain* p. 133 f.

⁴ *E.g.* Bojardo *Orlando innamorato* I. 1. 27 ed. Panizà ii. 8.

⁵ A. Nutt *Studies on the Legend of the Holy Grail* p. 232 ff. Cp. A. C. L. Brown *Iwain* p. 26 n. 1.

that the typical heroine of the French Arthurian romances was derived essentially from the ancient Celtic *fée*, we should do well to supplement it by the belief that the typical hero of the same romances was likewise descended from the Celtic aspirant to the position of woodland king. On this showing the rule of the Arician priesthood, or rather its equivalent in the Celtic area, would be the very ground-work and foundation of that marvellous superstructure—mediaeval chivalry.¹

ARTHUR BERNARD COOK.

¹ The statement that Brehus-sana-pitié had to confiscate the horse of any knight who passed his way (*supra* p. 52) recalls the fact that Diana's grove at Nemi might not be entered by horses (*Ov. fast.* 3. 266). This connexion with horses is far-reaching and of peculiar significance, as I shall hope to prove elsewhere.

THE POWERS OF EVIL IN JERUSALEM.

BY MRS. HANS H. SPOER (A. GOODRICH-FREER),
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(Read at Meeting, 19th April, 1905.)

THE following notes have been gradually collected during the year which has elapsed since the sending off of my last paper,¹ and I desire to express my grateful indebtedness to publications of Mrs. Einsler (wife of the well-known German specialist in Oriental diseases), of the brothers Baldensperger, and to Mr. and Mrs. Hanauer, not only for actual information, but for suggestions and interpretations which have facilitated my enquiries. Direct relations with many Moslems of all classes, consequent upon my interest in certain landed properties in Jerusalem, have also given me special opportunities for enquiry; and long journeys on horseback into the remoter parts of Palestine, Syria, and Moab, have facilitated observation. Jerusalem possesses learned and excellent libraries, but not of the English tongue; and in the absence of all English books of reference, and of means of taking counsel, I have perhaps fallen into the double error of relating what may be already well known among specialists, and of withholding details of interest, from fear of repeating the trivial and the familiar.

The folk-lore of the Bath and of water in general is practically endless. Water, as it is the wealth and the

¹ See vol. xv. p. 186.

blessing of this country, has come to be a symbol of power. During many months in the year, even in one's hotel, it is cheaper to buy two or three bottles of good wine than to take an ordinary bath! Moreover, as children are, in the East, "a gift which cometh from the Lord," the idea of power, as represented by water, has come to be associated with that of procreation. Childless couples will go long distances to bathe in certain pools, and barren women visit the hot springs in various districts, not, as might be supposed, for any medicinal properties, but because the jinn who causes the vapour is regarded as being capable, in a definite and physical sense, of giving them offspring; for, like certain Spiritualists of the twentieth century, they believe that both men and women may have intercourse with disembodied spirits, a belief quite as common among Christians as Moslems.

A curious anomaly, however, forbids the patients visiting the hot baths of Tiberias to call upon the Divine name, whether from reverence, the springs being recognised as possessed by spirits, or from policy, so that the Dervishes who recommend their use may have a loophole in case of failure, it would be unfair to determine. Many of the ordinary springs have also their special jinn, and the women, when fetching water, do so, as a rule, with some formula, special to the place—such as *dastūr ṣāhibin il-arḍ, niḥna fī ḥamā 'itkum wil'-arḍ; bismi-'llah*, "With permission, possessor of the earth! We and the earth are under your protection. . . . In the Name of God!"

A spring, like a house, may be "possessed," *maskūne* or *maḥḍūra*. At Ramallah, a village about eight miles from Jerusalem, is a spring haunted by a spirit in the form of a camel. If the water flows scantily, they say the camel is thirsty; if the water is muddy, they say the camel is wallowing; if the water murmurs, he is moaning. Another spring is occupied by a bride, the jingling of whose

ornaments, probably a head-dress or necklace of coins, can be distinctly heard.

Even a cistern, *i.e.* an artificial reservoir, should not be approached after dark. If, however, water is absolutely required, the name of God must be frequently uttered while drawing it, and it is better to do so in an iron vessel.

The hot springs at Callirrhoe and elsewhere are heated by a fire which is kept up by a jinn whom those afflicted with rheumatism seeking relief here must propitiate by sacrifice. The great water-wheels used for irrigation have to be overhauled at intervals, and before they are again set in motion a ram is slaughtered to propitiate the *jinn* in charge of the affair.

When a ghost story, or fairy tale, is told, it is better to avoid mention of the name of the supernatural being involved. Whenever any accident occurs, however slight, the name of God should be often invoked, and the attention of the Evil One distracted, on the principle of the Gaelic proverb, "Ill will come if mentioned." This is the case, not only in the event of any bystander uttering such a chance exclamation as "Have you hurt your arm?" "Are you blind to-day?" and so on, which must be replied to with some such phrase as "The name of God be over me," *smallah 'alēyi*, but still more upon occasions yet more serious, such as when a servant, threatening a child, should say, "The cat will get you." This once gave rise to a very serious incident. A woman one night wished to fetch some bread which she had left in the oven,—an oven here being a separate construction of clay, away from the house. She asked her husband to accompany her, and he churlishly replied, "What are you afraid of? There is nothing but the sheep in the court. Sheep, come and take her!" She thus went alone for her baking, and was no more seen, and all search was useless. One day her husband, thus widowed, was ploughing in the field when a Dervish came by, and,

hearing of his sorrows, asked, "What will you give me to bring back your wife?" The man, remorseful, let us hope, though possibly only because his helpmeet had been an expensive purchase,—a peasant is often crippled for life by the cost of a wife,—replied, "I will give you this pair of oxen." "A couple of hens will content me," said the holy man, and gave him certain written charms, one of which he was to lay on his forehead, when he would find himself instantly in a cave at Nablus (Shechem); the other to be again applied when new circumstances should arise. In an instant he was transported into Samaria, and, after making use of the other written slip, he found himself in a cave surrounded by jinn, to whom he related his loss. Upon this the chief, who sat in the midst of them, called to his courtiers, "Which of you will bring her the quickest? Light, how long will you take?" "An hour," answered the spirit so called. This seemed long, and the chief called again, "Horse, you noble one, how long will you take?" "A quarter of an hour," replied Horse. Whereupon one called Sheep stepped forward and said, "I will bring her in a minute," which was done, the happy pair returned home, and the Dervish received his reward.

The narrator of this incident, when asked what account the woman gave of her experiences, made a reply entirely in keeping with occidental tradition upon the same point, namely, that such things could not be known, for either the heroes of the adventure became insane and entered at once into the odour of sanctity,¹ or, if they preserved the memory of their sojourn among the jinn, they were well aware that they remained still under the ban of the spirits, and that by the slightest indiscretion of speech they would bring themselves once more under demoniacal influences. Moreover, he pointed out, it was evident that everything

¹ The Arabs believe that the insane and feeble-minded are literally God's fools, that their intellectual part is already in heaven. Most of the holy men of the East are, or pretend to be, mad.

on earth had its counterpart in the spiritual world, and therefore to say, "Sheep, take her," was equivalent to calling upon the spirit of that name. It may be observed, in passing, that to call out "Take it," or "Give it," without specifying who or what, is yet more dangerous, and gives power over the thing offered, not merely, as in the above instance, to one evil spirit, but to all evil spirits, be the object in question what it may—living or inanimate.

Another point taught by the story is the relation in which the Dervishes themselves stand to the Powers of Evil. Burton relates that the Devil once consorted with them for a week, after which he fled to the superior sanctity of his own regions. The families of the Shechs or Custodians of the Mosque "of Omar," as well as the wandering Dervishes, are considered to possess an hereditary gift of dealing with jinn and other spirits, and are resorted to by Christians and Moslems alike.

The Powers of Evil have, here as elsewhere, their favourite haunts, which include not merely dunghills and other such spots, as might be expected, but baths (which here, however, should perhaps be included among unclean resorts), springs, reservoirs (here known as "cisterns," as in our English Bible), oil-mills, soap-boilers, certain trees (also as in O.T. times), the threshold of the house, and indeed all doorways and entrances. When an Arab builds a house he places a coin, of which the value is unimportant provided it be of gold or silver, under the threshold, and with much ceremony sacrifices a cock, preferably a white one, sprinkling the door-posts with the blood, which is also allowed to run over the steps.¹ Such a house is described

¹ This is described by Mrs. Einsler, to whose article I am much indebted, *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palaestina Vereins*, vol. x., 1887. Professor Curtiss, in his *Primitive Semitic Religion To-day*, 1902, relates that an English doctor in Jerusalem "declined to analyse a substance sent to him from a Moslem shrine that looked like blood" on the ground that such usage was impossible. His near neighbour, Mrs. Einsler, had however described the ceremony some

as *sāsitha emliha*, of "good foundation," or *ridshelha chadra 'alēna*, literally "his foot is green over us." The omission of this ceremony is followed by many varieties of misfortune, and in the case of a house which is bought or hired is easily discovered by the consequences which ensue, sickness, death, money-losses, above all barrenness of the women occupants. At the best, however, the evil influence appears to be only mitigated and kept in check, for such is the power of evil about the door-step that a mother must not suckle her infant, nor correct her child, in such neighbourhood. A slap on the eye would cause the little victim to squint, on the head to become stupid, on the mouth to become wry-faced, and so on. Should a mother who had been so overcome by temper as to forget the danger suddenly recollect herself, she would exclaim, *bi 'ism alf kūl allāh, hū wāhid*, "A thousand times be the name of God spoken. He is One!" If a child accidentally stumble on the door-step, which is generally very high, as well as uneven and slippery from use, the mother or nurse snatches it up with the usual exclamation, and the smallest injury is immediately treated with incense.

Both in the streets and on country roads one observes at night that almost every passer-by, if alone, which is avoided as far as possible, is singing, more or less loudly, to warn off the spirits who have power in the darkness; and when one lies awake at night, naturally with open windows, the tinkle of the camel-bells or patter of donkeys' feet bearing loads to distant markets, is invariably accompanied by the monotonous drone which passes for singing among Orientals.

The bath, as being generally dark, and often dirty, is a special haunt of the jinn. It is lighted by a central cupola,

fifteen years before (*op. cit.*) and I can personally testify that in January of this year there were fresh bloodstains upon the shrine of Shech Jochanan in Besan. Curtiss quotes countless examples.

and the basin is surrounded by a low divan occupied by the bathers, who, especially on the women's day, sing and shriek the name of Allah in various forms according to their race and religion, exceeding in noise and energy when a bride happens to be present surrounded by friends and relatives all intent on securing for her all the future advantages effected by due ceremonial on the present occasion.

Mrs. Einsler relates (*op. cit.*) that a man who had fallen asleep after the bath, and had been accidentally overlooked when the place was closed for the night, was awakened by light and movement, and looking through a corner of the *abaya* (mantle) which concealed him, observed a large party of jinn occupied in the bathing and toilette of a bride.¹ After a time they desired refreshment and were bidden by their chief to fetch a plate of *kubebe* from one house, and a bowl of *mā māl* from another—newly baked cakes, over which the name of God had not been spoken. While the meal was proceeding, one of the spirits discovered and invited the watcher, who however was too frightened to move, and feigned continued sleep. Music and dancing followed, and then a bridal garment was sent for, in which the bride was arrayed, when to his horror the watcher observed that the dress belonged to his youngest daughter, recently married. The bride happened to be near him, and, according to Arab custom, took no part in the dance. Observing a vessel of dough within reach, he dipped in his hand, and marked a corner of the dress. When daylight returned the jinn disappeared, and the man arose and went to his home. His first task was to question his youngest daughter as to the whereabouts of her new green silk wedding dress, which was accordingly produced. It was found to be crushed as from recent wear, and marked with dough in one corner. Thereupon he related his experiences, warning his family never again to put away a dress or

¹ These are fully described in the author's *Inner Jerusalem*, London, 1904.

other article without uttering the name of God, for although in the present case the borrowed property had been returned, it might well happen that it should entirely disappear.

The story thus related, is capable of a still more serious interpretation according to traditions which I have heard in several forms and of which Curtiss gives the following variant: (*Primitive Semitic Religion*, ch. ix.) "It is well known that they (the Syrians) affirm that the jinn may have sexual intercourse with men and women. . . . It is said that women sometimes find that their best gowns, which they had carefully locked up in their bridal chests, have been worn and soiled by female spirits, during their confinement, because they did not utter the name of God when they were locking them up." (See also Baldensperger *Pal. Expl. Fund Statement*, 1899.)

Christians and Moslems have each their own formulae upon entering the bath. The Christians say:

smallah 'allēnā
hautna ballah

The Name of God be over us,
Our protection is in God,

sometimes adding:

es-salib ibārīna
ujehmīna

The Cross cleanse us,
And protect us.

As they pass on to the various parts of the bath they exclaim:

ism es-salib
el-chadr
bism el-'adrā
Yā mār anṭōn
Yā mār girgis
Yā mār elyās

The name of the Cross!
Saint George!
In the name of the Virgin.
O Saint Anthony!
O Saint George!
O Saint Elias!¹

¹ Elijah and Saint George are the favourite saints of the Arabs. The latter, who killed the dragon at Beirut, is associated with a great number of shrines and is invoked on all occasions. Both saints are called El Chadr = the green one, and the stories of the two are considerably mixed.

The Moslems also call upon el-Chadr, Elijah or S. George, as the case may be, and they say moreover:

bismi-Tlah er-raḥmān er-raḥīm: In the name of God the Compassionate, the Merciful!

Yā rasūl dastūr: O Messenger (*i.e.* Muhammed) with permission (or as the English railway porter would say: "By your leave," *i.e.* "Out of the way!") This phrase is used by Christians also, at night.

The washing out of the bath with fresh water, which one might suppose to be merely a very desirable cleansing after its last occupant, has also a ceremonial character, part libation, part a clearing out of lingering jinn, the sacred name being pronounced the whole time.

A Moslem woman relates a misfortune which had befallen her sister, who, having been brought up in a Protestant Institution, had not sought the divine protection in the usual manner. When going into the bath she confided her child of forty days old to the care of the proprietor, rather than take it into the heated rooms. Suddenly hearing its cry, she hastened to attend to it, slipped on the wet stones, and was found in great suffering from acute cramps. She had never been so seized before, but the attack often recurred, and the Shech, from whom she sought help, had been unable to give her relief. The cry she had heard was from a child of the jinn, for her own had slept quietly all the time, and no other child was in the house. Had she called upon God on entering, she would not have heard the sound, and even had she prayed for help in falling she would have received no injury.

It is customary for a young man seeking a wife to enquire if she is in the habit of using the name of God before every action. From the answer he gathers whether she is likely to bring blessing or scarcity into his home. A story is told in illustration of this, that a young couple, in spite of all frugality and care in housekeeping, found their possessions continually diminishing, until at last the

young man missed his horse. After seeking the animal in all directions and finding no trace, he resolved to go further afield, into a district full of caves, in which flocks and cattle were herded at night, and where he might hear news of his missing property. When night came he entered a cave towards which a light had attracted him, and found, to his horror, that it was full of *jinn* (the *genii* of the *Arabian Nights*), that is of evil, or at least sub-human, spirits, somewhat corresponding to the brownies of Scotland. They persuaded him to take his seat among them, and offered him hospitality. He tried to escape on the plea that he was seeking a lost horse, and was at once gratified and alarmed to hear that it was already there, and would be returned to him on leaving. Meanwhile orders were given that it should be well cared for, while an excellent supper of his favourite dish of rice and lentils *mudshaddara* was set before him. According to custom, while taking the first handful (the Arab peasant eats direct from the dish, without the intervention of spoons or plate) he stood up and uttered the words, "God increase your wealth," *allah yekattir cherkom*, equivalent to thanks for hospitality. Upon which the chief of the elfin tribe remarked, "My friend, you have nothing to thank us for; the rice and lentils, as well as the fodder for your horse, and much else which you see, is your own property." When he returned home with his horse, his wife received him with joy, and assured him that she had prepared his favourite supper of rice and lentils. When she went to the saucepan, however, it was half-empty, and she could only suppose that although she had carefully covered it up, the cats had somehow got a share. "No," said her husband, "the one who has eaten it is I, myself. My horse was among the *jinn*, by whom I have been entertained, and I now fully understand their saying that I was enjoying my own possessions, and that the horse was handsomely fed upon his own fodder—which, when they

looked into the barley-store, they found had indeed been the case. All this was a lesson to them. Henceforth they touched nothing without mention of the name of God, and they soon returned to their former prosperity.

The *jinn* were created before man, and even before the earth was made, and were brought forth out of fire; as good and pure beings, who should rule and inhabit the earth. But when the angels rebelled against God, some of them joined in the revolt, and as a punishment were sent down into hell, while the newly created human race occupied their place on earth, among the good spirits who still remained. Unlike the angels, the spirits, good and bad, are subject to passion and suffering; they eat and drink and bring forth children. The evil spirits here, as elsewhere, are of several kinds, and are mainly occupied in bringing evil and misfortune among the human race. They correspond to the same beings among other nations; giants and monsters, spirits of the wood and of the desert, satyrs, vampires, and *Poltergeistern*. Of the good spirits one hears little. They are harmless and do not need to be propitiated. They are even helpful and do not need to be "dodged."

One great duty of the women is to gather the day's supply of wood. The carob tree, also called S. John's bread, must never be the first from which twigs are collected, though it is a common and convenient source of supply. If this precaution is neglected, either the hand or the tool employed are certain to receive injury. Possibly the hardness of the wood has actually led to many accidents, or perhaps its red colour and suggestion of blood may have suggested the superstition.

The *jinn* love to sit in the shadows of the moonlight, just as men in those of the sunshine.

There are indications of a belief, both among Moslems and Christians, that the Powers have to be propitiated even by human life. When a death is announced to a father or

brother or other near relative, the usual formula is: "So-and-so is dead. May you live long," or even, "May God give you his life." This extends even to favourite or valuable animals. A man will say on hearing of the death of a neighbour's horse, "May it redeem you," *i.e.* be accepted in your stead. A child is redeemed by the shedding of blood at his birth, a male child, that is,—the others do not count. A father will say, for example: "I have no children, only three pieces of daughter,"—the phrase being equivalent to our "so many head of cattle." I am told, however, that in certain districts the mother, on their behalf, will sacrifice a hen.

I had the very rare privilege, thanks to the courtesy of the Husseini, the Moslem family at present in power in Jerusalem, of assisting at the pilgrimage and annual festival to the shrine of Moses in the desert of Judaea, which comes only second, or some say third, after Mecca, and which very few Europeans have been admitted to see in its entirety. Dr. H. H. Spoer and I were the only ones who remained the entire day, and late into the evening. There were thousands of excited Moslems, the only women being a few Bedu; but we were privileged to watch everything from the windows of the private apartments of the Mayor of Jerusalem, who belonged to the family of the original founders of the shrine; and were, moreover, able to take a considerable number of photographs, unperceived by those who would undoubtedly have protested, in very practical form, had they been aware of it. An interesting feature was the very large number of little boys brought from every part of the country for circumcision and who were afterwards paraded on gaily caparisoned horses. We witnessed the arrival of many of these; they were coming in all day and even after dark, accompanied by their male relatives, and in every case by a sheep for sacrifice. The poor creature was often so exhausted, dusty and panting after a long journey, that one felt almost

thankful that its hours were numbered. In certain districts it is very important that the animal should be slaughtered without injury to its bones, both at the sacrifice of redemption and at that of circumcision; cf. Exodus xii. 46 and St. John xix. 36. One is daily coming across biblical reminders in this land of few changes.

It is said that sacrifices are offered also at weddings, especially at the entrance of a bride into her new home. This, however, I have not been fortunate enough to see, although I have attended many weddings, Moslem, Christian, and Jewish.¹ This custom is sometimes, however, otherwise interpreted.

Curtiss (*op. cit.*, cvi.) quotes the Shech of a shrine who said to him, "Every building must have its death—man, woman, child, or animal. God has appointed a redemption for every building through sacrifice. If God has accepted the sacrifice, He has redeemed the house," and, further (cxiv.), that when the peasants go, as is the custom, to distant places to cultivate the ground for the Bedu, they offer a sacrifice to the spirit of the cave in which they take up their temporary residence, and that even a missionary of his acquaintance had a goat given to him by his landlord, so that he might sacrifice it upon the flat roof and allow the blood to run down over the lintel. When a member of the family returns home from a journey, or a soldier from the war, it is usual to slay an animal between his feet as he crosses the doorstep. Mr. Richards, the English Consul of Damascus, relates that in a certain village he received an address of welcome, and at a given signal a sheep was slain in front of his horse.

In an earlier paper about Jewish customs² I have spoken of the hand which is almost invariably portrayed over the door of the house. This is sometimes found also upon a Moslem house, the sequel of some occasion of sacrifice—

¹ Cf. *Inner Jerusalem*, chapters on Women among Moslems.

² *Folk-Lore*, vol. xv., p. 189.

birth, death, marriage, circumcision, pilgrimage, initiation of an undertaking, or what not—when those concerned will dip their hands in the blood of the victim, goat, sheep, or fowl, and will mark some flat surface near the entrance of the house to distract the attention of the jinn.

I wish I could obtain more particulars about Shech Shadli or Shazli, to whom a libation is poured out into the fire when coffee is drunk. If he were the inventor of Arabic coffee, he was a benefactor to the human race to whom such a libation is justly due, though of course not from those who drink the beverage supposed to be coffee in Western Europe—even in Paris. A variant of the custom is found at Hamath in Syria, where it is said that on the return of a pilgrim the whole pot of coffee is poured out as a thank-offering between his feet on to the earth, not into the fire.

I have been told, but have no evidence of it, that the Arabs still practise the bewitching of enemies by means of what is known in the Highlands as the *corp criadh*, the "revenge image," in use among most nations, and in all ages. I have seen such an image in recent use in Sutherland, made of clay, and, in the New Forest, of wax; in Greece lead was used, in Egypt papyrus, and in Palestine fragments of the limestone, of which the country mainly consists, rudely fashioned into human form and inscribed with the name of the enemy. Dr. Wünsch of Breslau suggests some possible association between this white stone and that inscribed with a "new name" to be given to "him that overcometh" (Rev. ii. 17).

I have seen Jewish and Moslem women seeking for mandrakes, but more likely with an eye to their alleged therapeutic properties (*e.g.* Gen. xxx. 14, etc.) than for the sake of their roots, which, however, they hang in their houses, but whether as curiosities or for purposes of witchcraft, I cannot ascertain. One, bearing a rude resemblance to three human figures, was shown to me by

an Ethiopian Christian as representing Joseph, the Virgin and Child. The Arab name for the fruit is *tuffāh maḡānīn*, "apples of the insane." I cannot discover why.

The high places, sacred tombs, sacred trees, do not present many special features of folk-lore other than one finds elsewhere in the East, except perhaps, like so much in this country, as illustrating and interpreting the folk-lore of the Bible. Thus on a Thursday, the eve of the Moslem Sabbath, the spiritually-minded passing by the neighbourhood of a sacred tree often see it in flames, as did Moses, who saw the bush which burned and was not consumed. Food is offered to the *genius loci* by Bedu on reaching a new camping ground, and is commonly hung on the branches of sacred trees, just as bread and wine were offered by the Israelites to Yahweh.¹ Piles of stones, commemorative or reminder, are found all over the country, and are receiving daily additions from the hands of the pious, and I know of some half-dozen places which no one passes without adding his tribute to the existing Eben-ezer. Standing-stones are erected to-day, as at Beth-el; and others, of which the origin is forgotten, are regarded as sacred, like the Jachin and Boaz of Solomon. The Rock worship so obviously recognised in Deut. xxxi. and other passages exists still, and now as, probably, then, one is told that the rock is merely symbolic, and that the saint is honoured spiritually and apart. Apparitions, bearing messages, appear "to those who have light in their hearts" as to the ancient prophets, telling now, as then, of matters of public weal—the cholera, the plague, the new railway.

The *mazeboth* condemned in the Deuteronomic code, and figuring over and over again in sacred history, may be seen all over the country, and in every landscape you may note the high places crowning the hill tops and resorted to by Moslem, Jew, and Christian alike. Caves, here called

¹ Ex. xxix.; Lev. xxiii.; Num. xv., etc.

"grottoes," are the holy places of every sect, and are inhabited by saint or jinn as the case may be. Mothers who have no milk, married couples who are childless, resort thither, although in some cases they have been abandoned by the Moslems on account of the nature of the orgies, and are frequented mainly by Christians and a few Jews. The specially famous cave under Mt. Carmel, dedicated to El Chadr (the Green One), who is recognised by some as Elias, by others as St. George, is resorted to by all classes, sects, and nationalities.

Spirits and apparitions still reveal themselves under sacred trees as to Abraham and Gideon. Sometimes such a tree is sacred *per se*; one near Gaza-el-Maisi is inhabited by a spirit, and receives divine honours just as Abraham "planted a tamarisk tree in Beersheba and called there on the name of Yahweh." Sometimes it is sacred by association only, like "the oak of the pillar that was in Shechem," or like the oak of Moriah under which Abraham built an altar to Yahweh. The fellahin leave ploughs, building materials, harness, and other property, in such places for safety. When a shrine is associated with a tree it is doubly sacred, and many serve to this day precisely the purpose described in 2 Chron. vi. 22-24, and even in so highly civilised a town as Besan, perhaps the most pleasing in all Palestine, orderly, well-built, well-governed, many a lawsuit is averted because the people are satisfied to go to the *wely*, the shrine of the local saint, and, as before the altar in Solomon's Temple, to swear innocence or reveal guilt, and receive judgment accordingly; now, as then, there is no appeal from this judgment.

Trees have also curative properties. The power of self-suggestion and telepathy are still fully utilised and appreciated in the East. A shred torn from the patient's garment and hung on the tree transfers the disease; in the same way a shred taken from it serves, like the handkerchiefs and aprons from the body of St. Paul,[†] for the

cure of the sick unable to present themselves personally; then, as now, "the diseases departed from them, and the evil spirits went out."

The sacred trees are of various kinds. One of those upon which we have most often seen decorations is the lotus tree (*zizyphus spina christi*), which however does not assume its sacred character till its fortieth year, when to cut it down or injure it is a gross insult to the *wely*. The tamarisk tree is often sacred, or at least haunted, and the wind, like "the whispering in the tops of the mulberry trees," is often heard to utter words and phrases as it sighs in their waving branches. The olive tree is sacred, though less often haunted, and palms and cacti have drunk of the water of life, and have in them something of a human element. Fig-trees, sycamore figs, and carrobs ("locust" trees), are, on the other hand, inhabited by jinn. Within a few miles of Jerusalem, however, in a grove of terebinth, a single sycamore fig is the one tree decorated with votive offerings. As in Scotland, it is not good to whistle in haunted places, especially at dusk. Salt is sacred, and a little strewed upon the threshold of a house or room has a good effect, and serves to keep the powers of evil at a distance.¹

My last "find" in the way of amulets was that of the jaw-bone of a wolf, worn by a Moslem girl as a protection against a cough. The subject of charms and amulets is however far-reaching, and would need a paper to itself. They are worn by man, woman, and child; horses, camels, and asses, even the sheep, the goat, the cat, more rarely, the dog, is protected by at least a blue bead, or a morsel of alum sewn up in a blue covering. "The belief in the Evil Eye," writes Philip Baldensperger, than whom no one living better knows the people of this country, "is certainly very strong among all classes of the population—Christian and Mohammedan, Jew and Gentile. It is stronger than religion."

¹ Cf. *Folk-Lore*, vi. 172.

II.

I conclude with a few notes upon Jewish folk-lore, additional to those in my last paper, and the result of later observation and enquiry.

The Jews allege that the jinn are the offspring of Adam and Lilith, or of Sammael and Eve, or of the sons of God and the daughters of men, as the case may be. They are responsible for most of the events of life, good or evil. Every man has 10,000 at his right hand, and 1000 at his left, specially dangerous at night, so that, as in the Outer Hebrides, persons meeting after dark should not salute each other by name, not however only for the usual reason that they should not acquaint the powers with names by which they might afterwards hear themselves called, but also because every person has a kind of infernal double, so that one might unawares salute a devil. The Jewish women in Jerusalem carefully cover their hair, not with a mere veil, as do the Moslems, but with a handkerchief, *chalebi*, firmly pinned around the coiffure so as to avert the Schedim who sit on the hair of women whose heads are uncovered (? cf. 1 Cor. xi. 10). A special devil named Kardaikoos is responsible for headache, and another named Asiman for epilepsy.

The Jews resort, with more or less secrecy, to divination, although such a practice excludes them from the highest heavens. In order to know if an undertaking will succeed, the women select a hen—the Jews are the great poultry rearers of Jerusalem—and if she gets fat, the work will prosper; if not, it is better to abstain. When the Astrologers of Pharaoh complained that Joseph, a mere slave, was put over them, the king replied, "I see the colours of rulership in him." There are many beliefs in regard to colour. If you are going on a journey it is well to sit for a while in a dark room and watch what colours you will see. If they are clear and bright it is safe to

proceed, but if flickering and variable, it is better to wait. The Jews, like others, will not begin an undertaking on a Friday. It is a bad sign to make a verbal mistake in prayer.

One day, while talking with a Jew, I was swinging my walking stick from one hand to the other, and observed that he watched me carefully. Suddenly perceiving that it was attached by a cord to my wrist, he said with an air of relief, "That is well, it is not good for a staff to fall from the hand." I ascertained afterwards that for a woman it was especially to be avoided, as it portended the loss of means of living.

It is a good sign when a sick person sneezes.

Of course the subjects most prominent in the minds of the orthodox Jews of Jerusalem are, the study of the Talmud, and the restoration of their race, of which the re-building of the Temple would be the first evidence. In accordance with this, they say that God spends one third of his time in studying the Talmud, one third in weeping over the Temple, and the rest in playing with the leviathan.

Another tradition relates the deep distress of the Almighty upon the receipt of the news of the victory of Titus. In vain the angels sought to console Him. He could only ejaculate, "Send for Jeremiah!" Apparently none but the author of the book of Lamentations could adequately express the emotion of the occasion. Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Moses, were also sent for, although there was some difficulty in finding the last mentioned, as apparently the Jews accept the fact that "no man knows that Sepulchre, and no man saw it e'er," whereas the Arabs, as has been seen, place his grave at Neby Moussa. The queerest part of the story, which is quite serious, is, that after the Temple was burnt, God, sitting down in the ashes, cried, "The foxes have holes and the birds have nests, but my children who have escaped

this slaughter have no where to lay their head, and their enemies rejoice!" Many of the popular tales about Solomon attribute to him a kind of second sight, as for instance it is said that when he sent to Pharaoh to ask for workmen for the building of the Temple, the Egyptian astrologers selected those who would die within the year, but Solomon promptly sent them back dressed in shrouds.

The Jerusalem children, both Jews and Moslems, seem to have few games except such as have been introduced by European—chiefly German and American—schools. Among the curiosities in the Armenian Museum are some very ordinary dolls. Hoops, balls, skipping-ropes, one seldom sees. In the north of Palestine, where life is brighter and less Europeanised than in Judæa, the boys play hockey and the girls hop-scotch. The one really characteristic game is a highly elaborated variant of "knuckle-bones," or the Scotch "chucky-stanes," played for the most part with the *tesserae* to be picked up within a few yards of anywhere. One game may last at least an hour, and is accompanied by songs, some of which are mere nonsense rhymes, while others have traces of meaning. The girls especially attain great skill, and it is the only occasion on which I have seen boys and girls playing freely together. A young man here said to me one day, speaking of the daughters of a neighbour, "They are ashamed to meet me now because we used to play *Hassa* together." A Jew told me that the ball-playing of the maidens of Jerusalem was one of the causes which led to the destruction of the Temple! May some association of ideas with the Nausicaa of heathen Greece have led to this condemnation of an amusement which might have had valuable hereditary influence upon the female outline of the Jewish race?

One of the most interesting places in Jerusalem is the Cotton Grotto discovered in 1852, probably the "royal grotto" of Josephus (*Bell. Jud.*, v. 4, 2.), and which, for the

advantage of tourists, is known as "Solomon's Quarries," and devoutly visited as the spot whence the stones for the Temple were quarried. As it stretches 639 feet in a straight line beneath the city, it might well be that here the "stone was made ready before it was brought [to the Temple]; so that there was neither hammer nor ax nor any tool of iron heard in the house while it was in building." The Jews, however, have a more romantic tradition as to the cause of this silence. They say that when Solomon had collected all other materials for the Temple—the gold and precious stones and brass—he was at a loss how to proceed in regard to the baser material for he was anxious that the stone should be handled in the same manner as were the Tables of the Law, the method of which was finally delivered to him in a dream. It seems that, at the beginning of the world, God created a small insect, the size of a barley-corn, called the Shemeer, which He kept under His throne until it was required to cut out and engrave the Tables of Stone, after which it was hidden again, in a place unknown to everyone except Satan, who somehow obtained possession of it, and was very unwilling to discover its whereabouts, especially for such a purpose as the building of the Temple, which, as everyone knew, was designed in opposition to Satan himself. However, Solomon called together the Rabbis, and in their presence conjured the Evil One from the bottomless pit, and commanded him to restore the shemeer. Satan, compelled to obey, however unwillingly, fetched from the deep of the sea a stone weighing a thousand tons, which he threw down in a rage at Solomon's feet. The stone smashed, and out of it emerged the shemeer. "When Solomon and the Rabbis beheld it they shouted for joy; but Satan, on the contrary, groaned in anguish, and raved with indignation."

Solomon then went to the quarry, where, with a pencil, he sketched the outline of every stone that would be

wanted, and then put the shemeer upon the pencil mark. As it crawled along, the stone split asunder, not merely taking the required form, but assuming the beautiful polish which made the Temple the wonder of the world.

Half-way between Jerusalem and Bethlehem is a little domed building known as the tomb of Rachel, regarded as a sacred place by Jews, Moslems, and Christians alike. Here we heard a story of the child Joseph. When sold to the Midianites he escaped from their caravan and wandered, footsore and hungry, to Bethlehem, which, by the way, is some four days march from Dothan, and hence to the grave of his mother Rachel, where, throwing himself on the ground, he wept aloud, and sang to a heart-breaking melody in Yiddish :

"Alas, woe is me !
How wretched to be
Driven away and banished
Yet so young from thee !"

Thereupon the voice of his beloved mother, Rachel, was heard from the grave, comforting him, and bidding him be of good cheer, for that his future should be great and glorious. How from hence he proceeded to Egypt to fulfil his destiny does not appear.

The Samaritans have precisely the same stories as to the curative-virtues of the Passover lamb as may be found in many Christian Churches as to those of the consecrated elements. In the *P. E. F.*, 1902, in an article descriptive of the celebration of the Feast in 1898, the author relates that a woman in the congregation became very ill, and that a cry was raised to remove her to a tent outside, lest the camp should be defiled by a dead body. Only Moslems might touch her, as of course a Samaritan so doing would become unclean. Later, some of her friends, seeing that she was not to die immediately, brought her a piece of the liver of a Passover lamb. Although she had been delirious she became better, and was still alive when the writer left

Nablûs. Sometimes persons, apparently in the last stage of illness, are carried to the top of the mountain and fed with the holy mutton, after which they are able to walk home.

Such examples of the continuity of human emotion might be still further multiplied. They are obvious enough and meet one at every turn, but are mysteriously ignored—perhaps never even observed—by most of those concerned to illustrate the Bible by the land. The amount of folklore, folk-songs, customs, which might have been collected during the sixty years at least in which England has spent tens of thousands a year on mission work in this country, is grievous to think of. Happily others more recent have been more active, and all folk-lorists owe a debt of gratitude to the Americans, Curtiss, Bliss, and Post ; to the Germans, Klein, Mrs. Einsler and her learned father Dr. Schick, and perhaps in this connection above all, to the Alsatian brothers Baldensperger, whose articles, now scattered in various inaccessible Reports, deserve to be collected and edited.

A. GOODRICH-FREER.

COLLECTANEA.

MATRIMONIAL CUSTOMS IN THE WEST OF IRELAND.

THE domestic customs of the Celtic peasantry of Ireland, which have survived apparently unaltered from very early times, cannot be gathered from books, or still less by passing travel amongst them: one has to be closely acquainted with their inner life, with their modes of thought, and one must know also something of their language. The writer was born and bred in County Galway, and thus is intimately acquainted with the Irish-speaking peasantry of the West of Ireland, which enables him to give a short account here of some customs which will perhaps be of the more interest as they relate to the mode of courtship and marriage.

In the usual biography or story of domestic life an early chapter has generally some notice of courtship as a preliminary to marriage; but, if its subject be an Irish peasant, the courtship would have to be omitted as non-existent. As a custom it is unknown among the more primitive Celts; indeed, in many cases, marriages take place even without the contracting parties having previously seen each other at all, and, putting aside the unamorous peasant himself, it is also the aim of every father to get his daughter into a home where there is a fair holding, paying from £8 to £12 rent, and for this class of farm as a home for his daughter he knows he must be prepared to give her as a "*dot*" about £40 cash and a cow.

A young man hears that in some parish within the narrow range of his geographical knowledge there is a maiden whose marriage portion may be suitable to his expectations; as an

Irish peasant he is warm-hearted and highly sentimental, but this does not prevent money, or its equivalent, being the deciding item in the selection of his future wife. A man never thinks of a girl who has not sufficient money to be his equal; in cases, therefore, where the families of the bride and bridegroom are not intimate, so that the young man's farm is not known to the girl's father, as a first step the latter is invited to come and inspect the property of the possible son-in-law. If the holding is not well stocked, the holder of it will often borrow a few cattle and sheep from a neighbour for the occasion, so as to create a favourable impression to the parental eye. After due inspection, if the father be satisfied, he will proceed to do all he can by way of finding the expected equivalent of the "dot" for his daughter's marriage.

The favourite time for arranging matrimonial alliances is a month before Lent, for in Lent no priest will readily consent to celebrate a wedding; hence the very Irish characteristic of putting off the inevitable to the last moment. Consequently, when a young man, about February or March, is seen whitewashing and thatching his cabin, he is suspected at once and his movements are henceforth watched with keen neighbourly interest.

Presuming that arrangements have satisfactorily developed so that the marriage ceremony only remains, the amount of the fee is carefully fixed by the priest according to the amount of the dower given with the bride. For example, supposing the maiden's father is providing £40 and a cow, the priest requires at least a £4 or £5 fee before consenting to perform the ceremony. Thus marriages constitute a fine harvest for the priest, and if he has many marriages in his parish they prove one of his chief sources of income.

After these preliminary settlements, there follows now the most curious part of these Irish marriage customs. The intending bridegroom never himself proposes either to the young woman or her parents. Everything is done with the utmost secrecy. In order to ensure this condition, he starts off at midnight to his intended's abode—most probably in some neighbouring village—accompanied by a friend and a bottle of whisky. As

they approach the house, or cabin, they are much daunted if they hear the barks of a dog, fearing that some of the other villagers may be aroused and so catch them on so significant a prow. When the cabin, after much trepidation and caution, is arrived at, the friend first knocks at the door; from within he is questioned as to his identity and his business. The obliging friend answers "he wants a wife." "Who is she for?" shouts the father from the recesses of his bedroom and his blankets. On the needful information being supplied, the matter is discussed *in situ* by the parents while their visitors stand waiting outside in the cooling influence of a February or March night. If, after consulting, the parents do not approve they will say, perhaps, that "the little girl is too young to let her go this year," or that it is too late to be disturbed. On the other hand, if the father and mother are satisfied, the former rises and opens the door of the cabin and welcomes his guests; this is regarded as a good omen of acceptance, and the suitor who, though not actually at his friend's elbow, is not far distant, now comes to the front. Immediately a big peat-fire is put down, that is, stacked on the hearth-stone, and the father sits on one side of the blaze and his good dame on the other. There is much shaking of hands and a good deal of blessing; and then the bottle of whisky is produced as an opening to the first act of the drama.

The chief idea of the young men is now to humour the parents so as to extract as much fortune as possible. As soon as the whisky is finished and their spirits elevated they set seriously to business, and several hours perhaps elapse before the matter is finally settled. At this point, for the first time, the girl makes her appearance, and though her fate is there and then in the balance it is usual for her to say nothing; nor is she so much as asked whether she will accept her suitor or not.¹ The writer knows a case (typical of many) where the girl refused on such an occasion to marry the man, and left in

¹ M. M., aged 28, a peasant proprietor from County Roscommon, now in London, states that he has been "best man" at five weddings, at none of which had the bride and bridegroom met before the matter was concluded.—ED.

disgust, but only to be dragged back to be thrashed first by her father, then by her mother, and finally by her brother. After this appeal to her sweet reasonableness, she resigned herself to her fate.

The night following the completion of the compact, all the relations on both sides are invited to a supper party. This meal consists usually of bacon, which has been stewed in a pot with cabbage; after this ceremonial food is thus cooked, it is served in a large dish, the potatoes being spread in the middle of a bare table. Plates, it must be known, are not sufficiently numerous to allow a separate one to every guest; three or four guests, therefore, eat from one and the same plate, on which the meat is torn, tiger-like, to pieces, and pulled in all directions by the forks: hence the name of "eating the tiger."

Drink is not scarce. The whisky is mixed, not with water, but with wine-coloured ginger-beer, not for economy's sake, but as suggesting unmixed liquor.

The feast being so far finished, the father stands in the centre of the company and counts out half of the marriage portion, and hands it to the bridegroom-elect.

A year afterwards, should a child be born, the remainder of the dower is paid and the cow also presented. But should the marriage prove childless, this second half is seldom forthcoming. The rest of the family, if the bridegroom be the eldest son, generally has a vested interest in the holding, and the custom is also to use a portion of this marriage "dot" for the marriage dower of some future sister.

Only a day or two intervenes between this festive betrothal and the marriage ceremony. This is characteristically made the occasion of a second lavish entertainment. All the friends and acquaintances assemble additionally at the home of the bride's parents, and the bridegroom and other guests are served with refreshments, consisting of tea, large slices of bread and butter, cake, and whisky. Then a long cavalcade of cars, carts, and horses starts for the chapel, the bride and bridesmaid sitting one side of their car, and the bridegroom and best man on the other side. Before the performance of the rite, both bride and bridegroom make their confession to the priest.

It is the custom for the bridegroom to give the bride a purse containing gold, silver, and copper, for immediate necessities, and this is presented to the bride by the priest immediately after the ceremony.

The newly-married couple are then mounted on a car side by side; next follows what is called the "dragging home." The bride and bridegroom start away first, preceded by the mounted guests and followed by the cars of the other guests, whose object is to outrace each other. The pace is terrific, and collisions are obviously numerous, and the horse that distinguishes itself that day goes up in value.

The horsemen who have raced ahead to the bridegroom's house compete for a bottle of whisky as the prize.

As the wedding party passes through any village on the route there rises a blaze of lighted sheaves of straw, each householder holding up such a torch in honour of the newly married pair.

All this time, however, the mother of the bridegroom has remained at home in order to bake the oaten cake, which she breaks finally on the head of the bride as the young woman passes the doorway of her future home. She pours also a bottle of holy water over her.

We may note here that it is not the custom of the mother of the bride to attend at the church or at the bridegroom's house.

At this first home-coming the entrance is always by the back door of the cabin, it being deemed unlucky to go in at the front, through which the dead are always carried out.

Irish celebrations are never lacking in some startling and humorous incident; indeed, something of a shindy is necessary to complete any good business, so that a certain amount of healthy row is inevitable. Once, it is said, a guest who arrived at the last minute at the wedding feast asked "Who is that fellow over there?" On being told that he was the best man he rushed up to the person indicated and struck him between the eyes, simultaneously remarking: "You're a liar; you're not the best man!"

The wedding evening is spent in dancing and singing those ancient songs which nowadays learned collectors are so anxious

to write down in the oldest and most classical dialect of the Celtic tongue.

The front door of the cabin is taken from its hinges and placed on the concrete floor, for the best jig and reel dancers to give an exhibition of their skill. This jollity is kept up till the early hours of the morning.

Rarely do these marriages turn out unsatisfactorily. It is almost an unheard-of thing for a husband to ill-treat his wife, as is unfortunately the case so often amongst the humbler classes elsewhere. There is no nation in which we believe the family ties can be closer. The first thought of those who emigrate to America is to remit money to the old folk in the cabin at home; and as soon as the emigrants have assured comfort, they will also send home passage-money to pay for the emigration of younger brothers and sisters.

In these days of advanced civilisation, it is difficult for strangers to understand the quaint ways of a peasantry so close in proximity and yet so distant in thought from themselves. There is, however, much to admire in the character of these simpler folk, if only for their high standard of morality and their wedded faithfulness to each other.

T. P. U. BLAKE.

BURIAL OF AMPUTATED LIMBS.

(*Cl. Folk-Lore*, xi. p. 346.)

THE accompanying note from one of my pupils describes occurrences which have come to his knowledge in his own neighbourhood in Ireland.

J. L. MYRES.

i. Andrew Bohan, living in Glenmacnass, County Wicklow, received an injury to his leg which resulted in subsequent amputation at the knee. The doctors who performed the

operation were desirous of sending the leg to the medical school at Trinity College, Dublin, but Bohan's friends, hearing of their intention, broke into the house of Dr. Garland at Laragh, County Wicklow, and carried away the leg, burying it at once in the churchyard at Glendalough.

ii. John Porter, of Woodbank, Roundwood, County Wicklow, in 1896 injured his arm in a threshing-machine so seriously that amputation was necessary just below the shoulder, successfully carried out by Drs. Garland and Taylor at Rathdrum. His relatives then wrote a letter to his employer, asking him to lend them a market-cart in which to convey the arm to the burial-ground at Glendalough, to be interred in the family grave there.

W. R. C. BARTON.

Ch. Ch., Oxford.

OBJECTION TO PORTRAITURE.

THE photographs reproduced in Plate I. were taken by myself at St. Cergues-sur-Nyon, in the Canton of Vaud, where I accompanied Miss L. E. Broadwood in August, 1903. They exemplify the objection to being photographed without permission, which was shown by the inhabitants. The boy standing on the ground in the upper photograph was holding a log of wood when he first caught sight of me, and quickly dropped it to pick up the sticks which he is seen holding cross-wise in front of him. The boy on the load of wood looks as if he were making "the horns" with his fingers, but I do not think he noticed me at all. In the lower photograph two children are hiding their faces, another is turning his back, and another, apparently, crossing his fingers before his face. The grown-up people showed the same objection, and usually retreated quickly out of reach of the camera, unless I had first asked permission to include them in the photograph; in which case they would pose with alacrity. I

never met with this objection in any of the larger Swiss towns, nor in the Canton Glarus, where I took a good many photographs.

BARBARA CRA'STER.

BUILDING CUSTOMS.

(Vol. xii. p. 104.)

IN Davos Platz, Switzerland, and its neighbourhood, when the roof of any house is completed, a small fir-tree is tied to the top of a scaffolding pole and "an entertainment," as my informant expressed it, "with wine," is given to all employés, and a present, consisting of a large silk handkerchief, is given to the head man, a smaller one to the second man, and cotton ones, varying in size and quality, given to everyone else, even to the smallest boy. I enclose a photograph of a half-built house thus decorated (Plate II.).

HERBERT R. H. SOUTHAM, F.S.A.

The custom of decorating the roof of a newly-built house with a small fir-tree was in full swing at Dresden when I was there in 1890, but there the ceremony always took place as soon as the ridge-pole was up, before the roof was covered in. The workmen also had a feast of some sort, but I do not know about presents.

BARBARA CRA'STER.

SOME FORMER CUSTOMS OF THE ROYAL PARISH OF CRATHIE,
SCOTLAND.

I AM acquainted with some of the older inhabitants of Crathie, and have from time to time gleaned from them little portions of unwritten records of a past age. Many changes have come about within the recollection of my friends, perhaps accelerated by the residence of royalty in the parish, a factor which has



OBJECTION TO PORTRAITURE: CANTON DE VAUD.

To face p. 84.



BUILDING CUSTOM: DAVOS PLATZ.

To face p. 85.

formed a new centre of crystallization to the people of Upper Deeside.

Fifty years ago the Braemar Highlanders made the circuit of their fields with lighted torches at Hallowe'en to ensure their fertility in the coming year. At that date the custom was as follows: Every member of the family (in those days households were larger than they are now) was provided with a bundle of fir "can'les" with which to go the round. The father and mother stood at the hearth and lit the splints in the peat fire, which they passed to the children and servants, who trooped out one after the other, and proceeded to tread the bounds of their little property, going slowly round at equal distances apart, and invariably with the sun. To go "withershins" seems to have been reserved for cursing and excommunication. When the fields had thus been circumambulated the remaining spills were thrown together in a heap and allowed to burn out. The chant used as they marched I have been unable to recover. In this way the "faulds" were purged of evil spirits.

A curious "freit," which was duly performed by the mother of one of my informants at the birth of every animal, was to place a burning peat between the door of the stable or cow-house and the young animal and mother, and to leave it there to smoulder.

The funeral customs of the people have completely changed within the period under consideration. There are no more burials of unbaptised children after sundown. Infants whether christened or not are now accorded an honourable interment. The English method of reading a service at the grave (in addition to the Scotch practice of performing that rite in the house of the departed) is rapidly coming into use. The long procession over the hills, in which the corpse was borne on "spokes" (a bier) by relays of men, has given place to the modern hearse, with its following of solemn friends in mourning. The unseemly habit of partaking to excess in strong drink has likewise departed, leaving none to mourn its loss. When our grandfathers were young it was nothing to see quite a number of intoxicated men assisting at a funeral, and many tales are current about unseemly behaviour, quarrels, and pathetic mistakes

occasioned by too free indulgence in ardent spirits. It is particularly insisted on as having happened in more than one parish that the cortège set out to the churchyard without the deceased in their custody.

One of my friends lately spoke of attending a burial in a cold spring-time—"just such another as this"—when they were met by pelts of hail every now and again in the long journey from Crathie through the mountains to Tomintoul. He met the company at a cross-road, and, standing aside to let them pass, he saw the nearest relative of the dead person going in front leading the burial party by means of a rope attached to the coffin. Walking alongside the coffin was the master of the ceremony, who, with a great silver watch in his hand, called out every five minutes or so for "other four" to assume the spokes. Then four new bearers came forward, but the leading man's position could be taken only by the nearest relatives "of the corpse."

A. MACDONALD, M.A.

Durris Public School,
by Aberdeen.

SOME WEST AFRICAN CUSTOMS.

(From *The Creole Boy*, a monthly magazine published at 68 Westmoreland Street, Freetown, Sierra Leone. The rationalizing explanations of the "civilized" African writer seem sufficiently curious to be retained.—ED.)

A Useful Precaution with Baby.

A child should never be taken outside its cradle until, in the case of a boy *nine*, and in that of a girl *seven*, days after birth, when they are to be ceremoniously taken out with great rejoicings and feastings.

The explanation of this custom will show that its observance is most essential, as the children are blind—that is to say, they cannot exercise their visionary powers for some time after

birth. During such time, a sudden contact with the powerful rays of the tropical sun may prove fatal to the eyesight, hence the above custom to prevent such a calamity.

Measuring Time in West Africa.

Should a cock crow in the early part of the night, before the usual hours, it is to be instantly killed and publicly feasted on at the crossing of two roads. The explanation of this custom is as follows: There are no chronometers in a West African community (purely so), and time is measured in the day by the sun and in the night by the crowing of the cock. Important arrangements between parties are fixed for the first, second, or third crowing of the cock; hence the above to prevent the community being misled by an eccentric cock. Should a hen happen to crow at all, the unnatural action is immediately checked by applying the above custom.

The Dangers of Whistling.

Whistling is strictly forbidden in a dwelling, and a boy who persisted in the habit should be punished.

In civilised communities this habit is regarded as an example of rudeness, but with the West African it goes further. It invites snakes and other reptiles, and the woodland nature of the West African homes makes it easy for the approach of these unfriendly and unwelcome visitors; hence the custom.

An Anxious Time.

A woman during pregnancy should not go out in the night without a knife or some other weapon of defence.

This is to prevent fright, which causes abortion or some other trouble. The woman, knowing that she is armed, would not easily be frightened.

A Question of Nerves.

On seeing a flash of lightning, one should hiss or do something of the like.

This is to strengthen the nerves against thunderclap, which is often disastrous to weak nerves.

Honouring the Dead.

In a family, as well as at a national feast, portions are set aside in memory of the dead in a corner of the house, or in a public place, according to the nature of the feast.

West African feasts are intended to heal family breaches and awaken mutual sympathy, or to arouse patriotic zeal and create national fire; and, as everyone is willing to honour the dead and to forego everything and all grievance for their sakes, the feasts are dedicated to their memory. To prevent the occasion being too ephemeral, portions are set aside for them for days together, and the belief that they do come to eat it makes the most greedy refrain from touching them.

To Remember the Children.

Over the corpse of a parent the younger children are generally passed three times.

This is to warn members of the family against taking undue advantage of the children of the deceased. Three and seven are to most West Africans what the latter number is to the Hebrews.

ÆLIOSE.

CORRESPONDENCE.

BREAKING THE BOUGH IN THE GROVE OF DIANA.

There was a tree in the grove of Diana at Aricia from which it was not permitted to break a bough. A fugitive slave, if anxious to get the post of priest of Diana, would break a bough, after which he had to fight the priest then in office; if he slew the priest he obtained his situation. Various explanations of this strange custom have been offered, but I am not aware that it has any classical parallel, especially so far as the breaking of the bough is concerned. Perhaps it has not been observed that, so far, we seem to have a parallel in our own folk-lore. In the ballad of *Tam Lin*, communicated by Robert Burns to *Johnson's Museum*, Carterhaugh Wood is haunted by an enigmatic being named Tam Lin. Janet, being warned of this, and forbidden to go to Carterhaugh, naturally hurries thither "as fast as she can hie." Her motive being to challenge Tam Lin, she plucks two roses. The being appears, saying:

"Why pu's thou the rose, Janet,
And why breaks thou the wand,
Or why comes thou to Carterhaugh,
Withoutten my command?"

Tam Lin claims rights over Carterhaugh, so does Janet—all's well that ends well—Janet rescues Tam Lin from Fairyland, and they marry.

In *Young Akin* (Motherwell's MS. p. 554) Lady Margaret goes to a wood, and plucks two nuts. Young Akin appears, asking :

"O why pu' ye the nut, the nut,
O why brake ye the tree,
I am the forester o' this wood,
Ye should speir leave at me."

In the ballad of *Hynde Etin*, an enigmatic being "wha ne'er got christendame," the same incident occurs, also in *The King's Tochter, Lady Jean*, where the heroine "pu's the nut and bows the tree." The end is tragic. (Can the appearance of Hades, when Persephone plucks the first narcissus that ever bloomed, be a case in point?)

In the ballads, the breaking of the bough is an assertion of a claim to property in the wood, and a challenge to the being who dwells there. Possibly these facts corroborate the opinion proposed by me in *Magic and Religion*, that the breaking of the bough of the tree in the Arician grove was no more than a challenge to the priest to defend the tree, and his own possession of the priesthood. The priest of Diana, in fact, might very well say to any one who broke the branch :

"O why brake ye the bough, the bough,
O why brake ye the tree,
I hold the priesthood of this grove,
Ye mauna lichtly me!"

Then they fight. This explanation of the bough-breaking is simple and natural. Perhaps other cases in folk-lore may occur to the memory of some students.

After writing the above, my eye fell on a passage (pp. 465, 466), in Major Leonard's "The Lower Niger and its Tribes" (Macmillan & Co., 1906). I have elsewhere suggested that the Arician tree had been a sanctuary tree, and Major Leonard mentions among "sacred places of refuge" the Bu Jpri, "a small but sacred bush. . . . A twig or branch broken off, no matter how small, immediately secures the hoped-for freedom, and invests the culprits or runaways with the inviolate halo of divine tabu."

If the Arician tree had once been a sanctuary tree, a refuge of fugitive slaves, in historic times only one fugitive could find refuge there at any given moment. Any other fugitive who broke a branch of the tree had to fight the man in possession. The bough-breaking may originally, as in Nigeria, have ensured protection, but, in historical times, as only one man could be protected, the breaking of the bough was a claim to protection, and a challenge to the actual holder.

A. LANG.

THE NATIVE TRIBES OF SOUTH-EAST AUSTRALIA.

I find it necessary to make some comments on Mr. Andrew Lang's "Notes in reply to Mr. Howitt and Mr. Jevons" (*Folk-Lore*, vol. xvii. p. 288). Mr. Lang expresses his sincere regret for having misunderstood and misrepresented me. He does this by quoting a passage from my work (*Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 500), and explains how he misunderstood my meaning. I regret that Mr. Lang has not explained also that the passage he gives is only a fragment of his quotation at p. 197 of his *Secret of the Totem*, which he there terms "a passage from Mr. Howitt."

It is to the whole of that quotation, to the inferences which he draws therefrom, and the adverse argument based thereon, that I take exception.

The quotation, the "passage" in question, consists of four selected extracts from my summary of the evidence on which I based my theory of the Tribal All-Father. It is only a portion of these extracts which Mr. Lang now quotes, and, apparently, relies upon for his excuse. The four extracts Mr. Lang arranged as follows (*Secret of the Totem*, pp. 197-8). The first extract is taken from the thirteenth line of my summary, omitting the commencement of the sentence; the second extract is from the nineteenth line, but only takes part of the sentence; the third

extract is from the sixth line, omitting an important introduction, and is interpolated between the first part of the sentence from line nineteen, and the remainder of my summary.

It is the termination of the summary which Mr. Lang now quotes. A large part of the summary was altogether disregarded, with the result that Mr. Lang had, in the garbled "passage," apparently, a statement from me, which justified him in saying (*Folk-Lore*, vol. xvi. p. 223) "we are here on the ground of facts carefully recorded, though strangely overlooked by Mr. Howitt . . .," as well as similar charges elsewhere.

Since I communicated my criticism of Mr. Lang's statements (*Folk-Lore*, vol. xvii. p. 174), there has been some correspondence in the *Athenaeum* and the *Academy*, in which he speaks of this matter, at issue between us, as an "unconscious misrepresentation," and an "inadvertent misrepresentation."

Apparently, as an explanation, Mr. Lang quotes the following passage from his *Secret of the Totem* (pp. ix., x.): "Since critics of my 'Social Origins' often missed my meaning, I am forced to suppose that I may, in like manner, have misconstrued some of the opinions of others, which, as I understand them, I was obliged to contest. I have done my best to understand, and shall deeply regret any failure of interpretation on my own part."

It may be felt hard to understand how Mr. Lang could "unconsciously" or "inadvertently" select four separate extracts from my summary, and so rearrange them, in a new sense, as to place me in error.

But we may accept this explanation, difficult though it may seem, if we add a further quotation from the *Secret of the Totem* (p. x.), where Mr. Lang says: "In this book I have been able to use the copious material of Mr. Howitt and Messrs. Spencer and Gillen in their two recent works. It seems arrogant to differ from some of the speculative opinions of these distinguished observers, but 'we must go where the *logos* leads us.'"

If this be a real explanation of Mr. Lang's mental condition when he made selections from my summary and called them a "passage from Mr. Howitt," it would evidently be to his

advantage not to allow the *logos* to lead him in future, lest he may find that he has again done an injustice to some observer "unconsciously" or "inadvertently."

So far as I am concerned, this matter may now drop, leaving the readers of *Folk-Lore* to form their own opinions.

A. W. HOWITT.

Mr. Howitt cannot but be aware, I think, that I have publicly, in several places, disclaimed all "inferences" and "arguments" based on my misapprehension of his "passage." My misapprehension was removed when he explained his meaning, which I could not find in his "passage" and can now only discover by reliance on his explanation.

If the Editor of *Folk-Lore* thinks it desirable, I will cite his whole "passage" textually, and add a comment or two. If I rightly understand Mr. Howitt to throw doubt on my honesty, I regret it—for his sake.

A. LANG.

[This correspondence must now close.—ED.]

FOLK-TALE WANTED.

I am translating *The Birth of Tragedy*, a book written by the German philosopher Nietzsche. In it occurs the following passage:

"Only in so far as the genius in the act of artistic production coalesces with the primordial artist of the world, does he get a glimpse of the eternal essence of art; for in this state he is in a marvellous manner like the weird picture in the fairy-tale, which can at will turn its eyes and behold itself; he is now simultaneously subject and object, poet, actor, and spectator."

Can any of your readers or correspondents advise me what

fairy-tale Nietzsche alludes to? I have been reading hundreds of *Märchen*, but cannot find what I am searching for. Is "das Bild des Märchens, das die Augen drehn und sich selber anschauen kann" a character in some oriental or Celtic tale? I should be greatly obliged for any information bearing on this curious passage.

W. A. HAUSSMANN.

1944 N. Gratz Street, Philadelphia, U.S.A.

REVIEWS.

L'ANNÉE SOCIOLOGIQUE, publiée sous la direction de ÉMILE DURKHEIM, Professeur de Sociologie à l'Université de Bordeaux. Neuvième Année (1904-1905). Paris, Félix Alcan, 1906.

L'Année Sociologique keeps up its reputation. Its contents this year are in no way inferior to any of its predecessors. An interesting *Mémoire*, which does not concern us here, by Mr. A. Meillet, on the social and other influences which operate to produce a change of meaning in words, is succeeded by an elaborate study by M. Mauss, assisted by M. H. Beuchat, on the periodical variations according to season in the social organization of the Eskimo.

Having carefully defined the extent of territory inhabited by the Eskimo the writer enquires how they are organized, and decides that the basis of the organization is not the tribe but the settlement. This is defined as a group of families collected together and united by special bonds, occupying a habitat over which they are distributed unequally at different periods of the year, but which habitat constitutes their domain. The settlement, in a material sense, consists of the whole of the winter-houses, the places of the summer-tents, and the hunting-grounds, whether on land or water, which belong to a determinate number of individuals, as well as the network of paths, canals, and ports which these individuals use, and where they constantly meet. All these form a whole, which has its unity, and all the distinctive characters by which a limited social group is recognized. It has a fixed name, borne by all the members and by them

only. The district embraced in the settlement as thus defined has definite frontiers, within which its members hunt, fish, and carry on their daily life. Moreover, the settlement has a linguistic and a moral and religious unity, founded on the taboo of the names of the dead and the belief in reincarnation of the departed members in the children subsequently born.

In summer the people live in tents, one family in the strictest sense—a man and his wife or wives with their children, own or adopted, and exceptionally an aged parent, or a widow who, for want of natural protectors, has been admitted to live with them—and no more occupying each tent. In winter, on the other hand, they live in houses of a larger description clustered closely together about a *kashim*, of which more presently. These houses take different forms in Greenland, in Hudson's Bay Territory, on the Mackenzie, and in Alaska. But they are all alike in providing accommodation for a number of families who live together, each in a special compartment, with sleeping bench, lamp, and so forth, thus retaining a certain amount of recognized unity amid the larger and more communal life of the winter. The *kashim* is a much larger house with one common lamp, but without separate compartments or sleeping benches. There the men sleep, apart from the women and children; and there at other times the social life of the community is lived.

Thus the distinctive characteristic of the community is the expansion and scattering of the individuals and the families in summer, and their concentration in winter. This rhythm of concentration and dispersion, as M. Mauss calls it, synchronizes, it is true, with that of the external life from which the population has to provide the means of its own continued existence, and, to a certain extent, is necessitated by the industrial occupations of the settlement, and by the direct effect on the human organism of the changes of temperature. Anything, however, which brings the population together, such as the capture, dismemberment, and consumption of a whale, causes the communal life of the winter settlement to be resumed for the time being, even in summer. This communal or collective life is the remarkable feature of the winter settlement, and none of the external conditions, nor all of them together can, as M. Mauss contends, explain it.

The winter-house, unlike the tent, belongs to no one family: it is the property equally of all who inhabit it; it is built and repaired by their common efforts. The game, which in summer is appropriated by the head of the family for his own use and that of his dependents, in winter is shared in common by all the housemates. The special economy of the family has disappeared. Although, as we have seen, the family is not wholly erased, still, for many purposes other than merely economical, it has become merged in the larger household. All housemates are looked upon as being in some way related. Indeed, the word *housemates* has been used by English writers to translate words which seem more accurately to mean *house-kin*. Marriage is forbidden between housemates. The patriarchal rule of the family gives place to the headship of a man, one of the housemates, who is recommended by his personal characteristics rather than by right of birth. He is usually an old man, a good hunter, a rich man, or an *angakok* (wizard). His powers are not very extensive. He receives strangers, distributes places or parts, composes internal differences, but little more.

But beyond the circle of the housemates is that of the *place-fellows*, in the original a special word which M. Mauss thinks is evidence of the existence of very close moral bonds between the individuals thus described. In the Hudson's Bay fiord of Angmagssalik the whole population of each settlement is comprised in one long house. Whether or not this, as M. Mauss thinks, may be held to prove the closeness of the relation between the winter-house and the tie which binds together the various families associated in the settlement, it seems certain that the inhabitants of the different houses in a settlement were originally closely bound to one another and to the kashim. The settlement is not a simple agglomeration of houses, an exclusively territorial and political unity: it is a domestic unity. A family atmosphere pervades it. The members are united by a bond of real affection, entirely analogous to that which in other societies binds together the different families of a clan. All observers have been struck with this, and have expanded on the gentleness, the intimacy, the general gaiety which reigns in an Eskimo settlement. A sort of affectionate kindness is diffused over all. Crime is

relatively rare. Theft is almost unknown, though it must be said that the opportunities for theft are equally absent. Adultery (in the Eskimo sense of the word) is likewise unknown. Moreover, as within a clan, there is no blood-feud, even when homicide is committed. Persons whose violence renders them dangerous are regarded as lunatics, and if they are put to death it is because they are lunatics. The only internal sanction of the rule of the community (in Greenland, at least) is the famous song-duel, in which two opponents, dancing to the drum, alternately sing staves ridiculing one another. The judgement of the audience is the sole punishment of him who is deemed to be conquered by the other's wit and fertility of invention. As regards other settlements, however, the duty of vengeance seems to fall upon all the placefellows, and lengthy blood-feuds are often the consequence of a death. Evil magic is of course condemned and punished, even by death. But (at least among the Central Eskimo) violations of a taboo, which may be of serious consequence in the belief of the people to the good fortune and even the existence of the community, are held to be sufficiently atoned for by open confession. Obstinate to maintain one's innocence when accused by the *angakok* of such an offence, on the other hand, it may be added, intensifies the original transgression and can only be atoned for by death.

The practice of exchanging wives, which occurs on certain occasions during the winter season, is another evidence of the close bond between members of the same settlement. Exchange of wives for a limited time between relations or intimate friends is not confined to the winter. It is often one of the incidents of a special bond of fellowship which, as in Alaska, may bind men even of different settlements together. The distinctively winter practice is different from this; but the other practice just mentioned, by virtue of which the men who enter into it, if not already relatives, are regarded as brothers by adoption, does seem to indicate that sexual communism is connected with a belief in kinship. The winter practice is part of the rites performed in the *kashim*. During the winter a number of ceremonies take place. The *angakut*, or wizards, hold frequent sessions to conjure game, to remove taboos, to heal

sickness. The feast of the dead is celebrated; the solstice is solemnly observed. In fact, the whole winter life is lived, it may be said, in a state of religious exaltation, in which every member of the community takes part. The place of assembly is the *kashim*; and there individuals are arranged not by families (as in the houses), nor by houses, but according to their more or less vague social functions. The smaller social units of summer seem completely merged in the larger unit of the settlement, which attains its full presentation in the *kashim* and in the various rites expressing the collective life of the community and shared in by every member.

Thus the settlement exhibits almost every feature of clan-life, as clan-life is known to us among peoples possessing the most highly organized clans. (Some of its features, I may observe, are either not to be found in clan-life or are here found in a more intense or developed form.) The only characteristic of clan-life wanting is that of exogamy. Even this is not uniformly wanting; and where it is so marriage is forbidden between housemates—a recognition of an inner circle of relationship within that of the settlement.

Such, if I understand it rightly, is M. Mauss' summary of the difference between the summer and winter organizations of the Eskimo. Anybody who has experienced the difficulty of summarizing the customs of a widely-extended group of peoples varying in all sorts of details, though agreeing in the main lines of their organization, will understand how many questions have to be determined in the course of an attempt to present a general statement, and will make allowance for difference of judgement as to the effect and importance of differing details. We are accustomed, and rightly so, to attribute to the French intellect a lucidity of which we, on this side of the Channel, often stand in need. M. Mauss' presentation of Eskimo social characteristics does not lack lucidity. But it is not easy to summarize what is already itself a summary; and I can hardly hope that I have reproduced all his points as they deserve to be reproduced.

In the main his account is doubtless correct. I am not quite sure, however, whether he has not somewhat overstated the

obliteration, in the winter organization, of the blood-bond in the narrower sense of that term. *A priori* it would appear hardly likely that the inner degrees of blood-relationship could be wholly overlooked in winter, seeing that the organization of summer is so intimately connected with them, and that if their existence were in effect suspended during the winter the consciousness must remain, and must affect that suspension, that at the end of a few weeks, or months at the most, it would be resumed in full force. And what do we find in fact? The duty of blood-revenge may fall upon the entire settlement: it falls however primarily upon the immediate kin. About this the writers to whom we are indebted for our knowledge of the Eskimo do not intimate a doubt. The winter-house is not occupied indiscriminately by those who have a right in it. Each family, as M. Mauss himself says, occupies a bench or a distinct part of the structure. Family life is, therefore, to some extent, preserved throughout the winter, and is not wholly merged in the community. The occupants of a winter-house too are often found to be relatives—father, mother, and young children on one bench, son-in-law and daughter, with their young children on the next, a son with his wife and children on the next, and so on. This helps us to understand why marriage with housemates is usually prohibited. It is noteworthy, moreover, that while some kind of relationship seems to be recognized between members of the settlement, it is not such as ordinarily to preclude marriage. Such relationship is a looser bond, therefore, than that between housemates. Marriage between blood-relatives, so far forth as the Eskimo recognize blood-kinship, is certainly prohibited in summer; nor can we infer that it is permitted in winter. It is accordingly clear that the social organization of summer is, after all, the permanent organization, never lost, and only in abeyance during the winter so far as regards some of its less important functions.

For these and other reasons I think that M. Mauss has stated the change of social organization between summer and winter more emphatically than the facts warrant. It is possible that the present stage of Eskimo society has been evolved out of one in which the people lived a purely collective life in the winter

and paired afresh every spring, like birds. Some considerations pointing to such an evolution can certainly be adduced. But M. Mauss has left this speculation untouched; his subject is the present organization. As to this, even if my criticism of his presentation hold good, he has performed a much-needed service in drawing attention to the remarkable alternation of organization. It corresponds to the alternation observed in several North American tribes, notably the Kwakiutl and the Hupa. Social life passes, as he says, through a sort of regular rhythm. It is not equable, but has at one season a moment of apogee and at another a moment of hypogee. This sort of rhythm of dispersion and concentration, of individual life and collective life, is found among other peoples, and perhaps may be a widely general law. To what extent it answers to such a description is not to be enquired here. Wherever it may be found it is clear that its extreme manifestations can only occur where the climate, like that of the Arctic littoral inhabited by the Eskimo, favours them, and where the population has not yet wholly emerged from the condition of savagery.

At all events, M. Mauss concludes, the Eskimo present us with a striking verification of the sociological hypothesis that social life under all its forms, moral, religious, juridical or whatever they may be, is the function of its material substratum and varies with this substratum, that is to say, with the mass, the density, the form and the composition of the human groups of which it is composed. Partial illustrations of the truth of this hypothesis have been produced before, in the evolution of the penal law and of other branches of jurisprudence, and the change of religious beliefs with changing circumstances and the growth of civilization. But these may not have been wholly due to morphological changes; they may have been accompanied or preceded by others which have escaped research. Among the Eskimo societies, on the other hand, we see that at the precise moment when the form of the group changes, religion, law and morals undergo a parallel transformation. The experience is crucial, and the result of this enquiry is that henceforth at least one sociological proposition has been relatively demonstrated.

Many of the critical reviews in the remainder of the volume are distinguished by excellence. Among those particularly interesting to readers of *Folk-Lore* may be mentioned one by M. Mauss on the two recent works—that by Merker and that by Hollis—on the Masai, and one by Prof. Durkheim on Dr. Howitt's *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

THE TODAS. By W. H. R. RIVERS, Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. Macmillan and Co. 1906. Price 21s. net.

IN this account of the Todas of the Nilgiri Hills in Southern India Dr. Rivers has given us not only an elaborate description of a singularly interesting people, but has supplied a model of anthropological investigation on truly scientific lines. When it is remembered that his visit to their country occupied only five months, and that being ignorant of their language he was dependent upon the services of interpreters, the amount and accuracy of the information which he has collected testify to the energy and tactfulness with which his enquiries were conducted. He fully admits that in many directions his information is still incomplete. In fact, the impression which his book leaves upon me is that, as in the case of all anthropological investigations in India, and for that matter among all savage and semi-savage races, the Toda reserves a forbidden chamber in his brain, in which the secrets of his beliefs and cults are still jealously guarded. Unless this fact be admitted, many of the facts recorded in this monograph are still to a large extent unintelligible. Whether the veil which shrouds the tribal mysteries will ever be raised it is impossible to say. But with the experience which Dr. Rivers has already gained no one at present is likely to be able to push the investigation a step further, and in the interests of ethnological research it is to be hoped that he may be given the opportunity

of revisiting his Toda friends, of acquiring a working knowledge of their language, and of exploring still further the beliefs and usages of this mysterious people.

I can only touch here upon a few salient features of interest in a book which must lie on the shelves of all working anthropologists.

First, as to the origin of the Todas. Differences of cults and rites within the tribe itself seem to indicate that they reached their present settlement on the Nilgiri plateau by at least two successive migrations. Many lines of evidence tend to show that their original home was on the west coast in Malabar, and the process of development of their beliefs, ritual, and institutions suggests that they must have remained in a state of comparative isolation from their neighbours for a considerable period of time. How far they may be connected with the people who erected the remarkable stone monuments still remains uncertain.

Next, as to their religion. They worship a pantheon of definitely anthropomorphic beings, who are believed to have lived in the world before man existed. Most of these seem to be hill spirits, each occupying a peak of its own, all of which have on their summits the stone circles, cairns, and barrows which were excavated by Brecks and others. This suggests a connexion with the dolmen-builders; but at the same time it is noteworthy that the Todas seem to have little respect for these monuments, and do not object to their excavation. Besides these hill-spirits many of their gods are deified mortals, men raised to the rank of deities not as the result of ancestor worship but of a hero cult. There is nothing to show that these gods are personifications of the forces of nature; there is no phallic worship, and no indication of totemism. None of these gods are visible to mortals, and most of them are losing any reality which they may once have possessed. To quote Dr. Rivers' summary: "The idea of 'god' is highly developed among the Todas, and I am inclined to believe that the most satisfactory explanation of the Toda deities is that the people came to the Nilgiri Hills with a body of highly developed gods; that round these gods have clustered various legends connected with the Toda institutions; that these old gods have gradually through long ages lost their reality; that certain heroes

have been raised to the ranks of gods, and that the lives of their heroes, founded to some extent on actual fact, have more interest to the Todas and are remembered and passed on, while the legends of the older gods are gradually becoming vaguer in the process towards complete oblivescence ; that the gods as a whole, however, are still regarded as the authors of punishment, and that there is a tendency to make an abstraction of the power of the gods." At present ritual persists in tropical luxuriance, while the beliefs at the basis of the ritual have largely disappeared. The wearisome round of ceremonies intended to secure the purity of the officiant, and the ring of taboos which encompasses him, remind us of the frivolities of the Hindu Brahmana literature. In fact, as Dr. Rivers clearly shows, the Todas are Hindus by race and have been profoundly affected by Hindu influence, direct, or indirect through neighbouring tribes like the Badagas. The tale of woman being formed out of the rib of man suggests that while resident on the western coast they may have absorbed some Christian or Jewish beliefs.

At present the cult of the buffalo is the most prominent feature of their religion. It is perhaps possible that, as suggested by Dr. Rivers, they may have brought with them some animal cultus, like the Hindu reverence for the cow, from their original home in Malabar ; and that in their new settlement "the religion of the Todas underwent a very special development, its ritual coming to centre more and more round the buffalo, because in their very simple environment this was the most accessible object of veneration." This explanation, though perhaps the most reasonable which can be offered at present, is far from satisfactory. No other Dravidian buffalo cult seems as yet to have been discovered. But we know little of the primitive tribes of Southern India, and some day Mr. Thurston may explain the mystery.

The cult of the bell is almost equally mysterious. Dr. Rivers suggests that it may have come about by a process of transference from the buffalo to the object worn by it. "Probably at one time the buffaloes were more directly venerated than they appear to be at present." This, again, seems very doubtful. The Gonds, who have no buffalo cult, worship a bell-god as Ghagarapen, and this may easily have arisen from a belief in the sanctity of the bell

or rattle carried by the medicine man to scare evil spirits, a sanctity later on extended to the bell and shell trumpet of the Hindu temple.

With the most elaborate chapters of Dr. Rivers' book I cannot deal here—the complete account of the rites connected with the sacred dairy and its officiant; the rites performed at birth, marriage, and death; and last but not least the description of the tribal organisation. In this last department Dr. Rivers has adopted and still further developed the system of recording genealogies, an invention of his own, used with singular success in his investigation of the people of Murray Island, and here applied with no less valuable results to the sociology of a small, isolated tribe. All these chapters supply novel facts which must be taken into account by all students of primitive races.

On the whole, it is safe to regard this monograph on the Todas as one of the most important recent contributions to Indian ethnology. It is no proof of the failure of his mission that much work still remains to be done. On the contrary, the energy and tact applied to the survey of a very reticent, suspicious race are no less admirable than the scientific forms in which the results of his visit have been summarised, and the modesty which has saved the author from rash generalisation and haphazard comparison of Toda beliefs and customs with those of the races by whom they are surrounded.

W. CROOKE.

THE NATIVE RACES OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE. NATIVES OF AUSTRALIA. By N. W. THOMAS, M.A. London, Archibald Constable & Co. Ltd., 1906.

KINSHIP ORGANISATIONS AND GROUP MARRIAGE IN AUSTRALIA. By NORTHCOTE W. THOMAS, M.A. Cambridge, University Press, 1906.

If we may judge by the first volume, the series of *Native Races of the British Empire* is likely to prove very useful to readers who simply want to know the general facts about one or

another of the many races under British sway, without being involved in scientific discussions or details of merely or mainly scientific interest. It is on the whole well planned and interestingly written, and controversial topics are avoided. Many of the illustrations are exceedingly good, some quite charming, though a few, such as Plate 6, are too small and indistinct. (In reference to Plate 6 in particular, it may be observed that there is nothing to show to what tribe it relates, or what useful purpose in any case it serves.) If it be considered part of the business of a reviewer to find fault, let me lift up a protest against the absence of references. Many a time a student in search for a fact of which he has a dim recollection might be assisted in Mr. Thomas' pages if references were supplied; and on the other hand, the means of verification of statements ought always to be provided. Many of the plates are old friends. The value of all would have been enhanced if the source and the tribe referred to had been specifically indicated on the face of the plate. Diagrams would have greatly aided the comprehension by ordinary readers of the account of the class and phratry organizations, an intricate subject which will hardly be plain to those who have not previous knowledge. On p. 182 there is some want of clearness in the statements. In chap. xiii. the author should have avoided using the word "God" where Baiame or some similar being is meant. These observations are not intended in any carping spirit, but to suggest amendments in case the volume prove popular enough, as I hope it may, for a future edition.

The second of Mr. Thomas' two works named above is an investigation of the Australian social organizations with a controversial object. It is directed primarily against the theory of group-marriage first advocated by Morgan in his *Ancient Society* and other pioneer works on the evolution of social organization, and more recently by Dr. Howitt and Messrs. Spencer and Gillen, in reference to the Australian tribes. By all of these group-marriage has been regarded as a limitation of the promiscuity postulated as the primitive condition of humanity. Mr. Thomas' criticisms are acute and closely reasoned. They suffer from excessive compression, leading to obscurity at times; and to be understood, they require the reader to have the works

controverted continually at his elbow. The conclusion to which he comes is that Australian customs, "so far from proving the present or even former existence of group-marriage in that continent, do not even render it probable," and that on terms of relationship "no argument of any sort can be founded which assumes them to refer to consanguinity, kinship, or affinity."

He seems, indeed, to go further, and to deny the primitive promiscuity of the human race, though he actually denies only that the case for it has yet been made out. His criticism is purely negative. Nowhere can I find that he definitely adopts any theory of the condition from which human society, as it exists to-day, whether in savagery or civilization, has been evolved. He states, indeed, what Mr. Lang's theory of the origin of the phratries is—a theory based on the assumption of early organizations in groups, each consisting of an adult male with an attendant horde of adult females and an immature progeny of both sexes. He speaks of it with approval as "holding the field," as "internally consistent," and as "colligating the facts far better" than one rival theory—that of reformation; but whether he adopts it as a sufficient and accurate exposition of the facts, I do not gather.

The results, therefore, so far as they are definite, are purely negative, and it may reasonably be asked, From what did society start, if not from promiscuity? It is evident that the groups postulated by Mr. Lang are a rudimentary form of organization, and not in the strict sense of the term primitive. They themselves must have evolved out of something still ruder. That jealousy was a primitive passion has yet to be shown; there are savage customs which appear to indicate the contrary. Mr. Thomas acutely points out that there is a difference between kinship and consanguinity: the two terms are not synonymous. But it may well be argued that the distinction between them is a gradual and later growth, arising from truer physiological conceptions. If I understand him rightly, he argues that kinship terms have been evolved from terms merely signifying status; and status, of course, implies some sort of regulation. Assuming he is correct, does it not follow that relationships were

originally vague and undetermined, and that they have gradually become more and more definite? But among such relationships, that of what we may call husband and wife is one, and whether it took the form of temporary monogamy, polygamy, or regulated promiscuity, (the two latter in Mr. Thomas' sense), matters little. In any one of those three cases there would have been a period when a vague term like *noa* corresponded to the actual practice, though Australian society, by appropriation of women, may long since have outgrown it without developing a new term to express the more defined relationships which have since come into being.

The subject is, of course, too large for discussion here, and I will not pursue it. But there are two points in Mr. Thomas' argument, as applied to Australian customs, to which I want briefly to refer. A stress far greater than it will bear has been laid upon the priority in the life of an individual woman of *tippa-malku* to *pirrauru* "marriage." We are told that no woman can enter into the latter until she has entered into the former; and that we must thence infer that *pirrauru* "marriage" is not a survival of "group-marriage," but a later and aberrant social arrangement. Further, a special ceremony is performed for the *pirrauru* marriage, but not for the *tippa-malku* marriage; and Mr. Thomas argues that if *pirrauru* be "a survival of group-marriage, we should expect the ceremony to be performed for the *tippa-malku* union and not for the *pirrauru*." But it must be remembered that according to existing practice among the Dieri and other tribes with which *pirrauru* is in vogue, the *tippa-malku* contract of betrothal takes place in infancy; hence every adult woman is already a *tippa-malku* wife. Practically, therefore, the only meaning of the condition is that *pirrauru* can be entered into with none but adult women. Whether *pirrauru* be a direct survival of "group-marriage" in the sense Mr. Thomas attaches to that term I will not argue. He has given some reason apart from those I am discussing, to doubt it. But the mere fact of performance of a ceremony to initiate *pirrauru* and none to initiate *tippa-malku*, would not seem to me to necessitate our holding that *pirrauru* is the later and *tippa-malku* the earlier social arrangement; for *pirrauru* is an arrangement between adults, whereas *tippa-malku* is an anticipation

with a view to securing prior rights. Moreover, on Mr. Thomas' own showing (p. 129) *tippa-malku* betrothal is a ceremony, so that ceremonies are performed in both cases. Both contentions, therefore (namely, that founded on the performance of a ceremony, and that founded on the requirement that the woman shall be already a *tippa-malku* spouse), fall to the ground.

I have only space for one other point. Although it is true that with the development of *patria potestas* a widow tends to pass to the heir along with the property of a predecessor, there is abundant evidence from many parts of the world that this was not her earlier condition. It is not, as a rule, her condition in Australia. In Australia, as elsewhere, the group of kinsmen, which includes the husband, acquires rights in the woman by her marriage; those rights involve correlative duties; and while many of those rights and duties are monopolized during the husband's lifetime by him, they expand on his death among the group, resulting in the actual state of society in a new appropriation by another member of the group. The duties are equally insisted on with the rights; he who exercises the latter is charged with the performance of the former. This rule seems to remain even where the widow is regarded (for instance, among many of the African peoples) as little more than part of the property of the deceased. But in Australia it is sometimes even more insisted on. This is the solution of one of the apparent contradictions pointed out in a note (p. 135) of Dr. Howitt's statements. Dr. Howitt's statement (*South-Eastern Tribes*, p. 281) is general. In the Dalebura tribe, however, while the widow passes to the husband's brother, it is not *necessarily* as wife; if he so please he may become her husband, but in any case he is bound to be her protector. Similarly, we know, among some of the tribes of Western Victoria the property of the deceased was divided among his widow and children, but if she had offspring it was the *duty* of the brother of the deceased to marry her, because he was bound to protect her and rear the children. So far as I am aware, the Wotjobaluk are the only tribe where any objection to take the widow is reported.

Some further care should have been exercised in the correction of the proofs. The want of it has led to accidental mis-

statements on pp. 41, 52, 53, 87, 97, and 136, likely to puzzle readers. I cordially join Mr. Thomas in the wish for an Australian Grimm to study the various languages, and for somebody to give us authoritatively the true pronunciation of the words which appear in such various forms. Meanwhile, Mr. Thomas' work on *Kinship Organisations* must receive the careful study of all who are interested in the problems of the evolution of human society. Whatever solution of those problems we are inclined to favour, the value of his criticisms will be generally acknowledged. Nothing so systematic has hitherto been attempted, and they form a substantial contribution to the discussion.

The maps, diagrams, and lists are excellent; but is West Australia sufficiently known to be included in the maps, at least without notes of interrogation?

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

LE FOLK-LORE DE FRANCE, par PAUL SÉBILLOT. Tome II.
LA MER ET LES EAUX DOUCES. Paris: E. Guilmoto, 1905.
Tome III. LA FAUNE ET LA FLORE. Same publisher,
1906.

M. SÉBILLOT continues in these two volumes the cyclopaedia of French folklore, the first volume of which was noticed in these pages in December, 1904. The method which was there described is exactly followed out. The author's incomparable knowledge of his subject, his critical power and indefatigable industry, combine to render it a monument worthy of himself and of his subject. It may be said, without hesitation, that when completed the work will have been done once for all. But to make it available for students, it will want a very full index. This cannot be too strongly emphasized. M. Sébillot, happily, is alive to the need, and in the preface to the first volume he promised it. Meanwhile, the analytical tables of contents con-

tained in each volume are useful guides to those who wish to consult it.

The subjects of the volumes announced in their titles sufficiently indicate their scope. The various divisions and aspects of the subject receive careful consideration, and M. Sébillot has spared no pains to render his treatment of them adequate. The British reader will turn with interest to the chapter on "Encroachments of the Sea," and particularly to the tragic story of the city of Is, of which a famous analogue is found in Wales. Nor will he be disappointed. The distinguished author's local knowledge reinforces his criticism. He traces the tale to its earliest recorded form; he rejects the romantic additions of Souvestre and other writers; he discusses the traditional fragments still or lately found in Brittany; he shows that about the Bay of Audierne there are archaeological remains which point to a great encroachment of the sea; and he comes to the conclusion that some actual event underlies the traditions.

M. Sébillot has been at some pains to prepare statistics relative to the comparative popularity of various items of tradition in different parts of the country. Thus, in discussing the geographical distribution of the belief in the *Lavandières de Nuit* (cf. Hugh Miller's *Scenes and Legends in the North of Scotland*, pp. 296), he points out that the chief seat of this superstition is Brittany, where more than half the examples he has brought together from the whole of France are found. There is a gradual diminution as we pass from west to east, until in the extreme east, Alsace-Lorraine, the Vosges and French-speaking Switzerland, only three examples have been collected. Thus these grisly washerwomen are all but unknown in the country of the Langue d'Oc, only two, both in Vaucluse, having been discovered there.

As another example, we may take the cult of trees, of fountains, and of standing stones. Vestiges of the cult of the two latter have been found from one end to the other of the land anciently known as Gaul. With regard to the worship of trees, the case is different. With few exceptions, the instances reported all belong to the old country of the Langue d'Oil. Such results of M. Sébillot's enquiries are very striking, whatever conclusions may

be drawn from them, though, as he is careful to point out, the north and centre of France have been much better exploited by collectors of folklore than the south, with the exception of certain districts of the south-west.

Space would not avail me to enumerate the interesting matters which come under review in these two volumes. The exact citation of authorities, the special enquiries undertaken by the author in respect of *lacunæ* noticed while collating his materials, and his comparison of traditions and superstitions reported by ancient and mediæval writers, enhance very greatly the value of his work. Is it too much to hope that we shall ever get a Dictionary of British Folklore to compare with it?

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

STRING FIGURES. A STUDY OF CAT'S-CRADLE IN MANY LANDS.

By CAROLINE FURNESS JAYNE. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906.

BOTH old and young of nearly every race of the world are now known to play games in which objects, natural or artificial, are imitated by making figures of string. These figures are often of great interest to the folklorist, for they may illustrate features of magical practice, and may even, as Dr. Haddon suggests in his introduction to this book, be survivals in play of rites into which strings or knots have entered. Again, during or at the end of the formation of a figure, phrases are often said or sung which may put the investigator on the track of features of religious or social custom which he might otherwise have missed, while the phrases themselves may provide the philologist with words otherwise extinct. In addition to the direct value of the games to the worker among races of low culture, there is also an indirect value, which can hardly be over-estimated, in bringing him into sympathy with those who are, for the time being, his fellow-workers. Hours spent in the trivialities of cat's-cradle may be well repaid by help given in paving the way

for the revelation of the secrets of religious and magical custom or belief.

In the book before us, Mrs. Jayne has brought together in sumptuous form a collection of string figures from many different races, including Europeans, American Indians, Eskimo, Polynesians, Papuans, and Australians, and there is one example learnt from an African pygmy. The mode of production of 97 figures is fully recorded, and the various stages in the formation of the figures illustrated by nearly 900 drawings. One of the most striking features of the figures is their similarity all over the world, though the means employed in their production may vary. Mrs. Jayne has brought out the similarities and differences by arranging her examples according to their nature, so that similar figures from different parts of the world are placed together.

The figures may be classified in various ways. In addition to the imitative examples already mentioned, there are some which may be called tricks, though these often have names which show that they have had the same origin as the rest, and have arisen through the imitation of movements, which is a frequent feature of the game. The majority of figures in different parts of the world begin with the string round the hand in one of two ways, and in his introduction to the book, Dr. Haddon has used this initial stage in the production of a figure as the basis of a classification into an Asiatic form found in Europe and Asia, and an Oceanic form found in America, Oceania, and, as we know from examples only fully recorded¹ since the appearance of Mrs. Jayne's book, in Africa also. The Asiatic type resembles our own cat's-cradle, and can only be played by more than one person, while the Oceanic type can be played by a single person, though often two or more may co-operate in the production of a figure.

Dr. Haddon, whose enthusiasm for the subject has inspired most of those who have recorded string figures, gives in his introduction a full account of the distribution of the game, and there is a very complete bibliography at the end of the volume.

¹ *Journ. Anthropol. Inst.*, 1906, vol. xxxvi. pp. 121-149.

All the descriptions of the figures have been written according to the method devised by Dr. Haddon and myself,¹ but Mrs. Jayne has introduced some modifications which seem to me to impair seriously the exactness and definiteness of the method. The words "near" and "far" applied to a string on the hands are equivocal. They may mean that the string is nearer to, or farther from, the eyes of the person making the figure, or they may mean that the string is nearer to, or farther from, the wrist. Further, the words "upper" and "lower," as applied to strings on the hands or fingers, may cease to be correct if the position of the hands be changed. These words were, therefore, rejected at an early stage of the attempts to discover a method of recording string figures, and to replace them four terms were borrowed from the customary nomenclature of anatomy, each of which has a single unmistakable meaning. Mrs. Jayne has preferred the discarded terms, with the result that strings may have to be called upper and lower when they really lie in the same horizontal plane, while in the large group of string figures in which the toes are used as well as the fingers, the terms have to be employed still more incorrectly. In these figures the hands have to be held with the fingers downwards, so that the "upper string" would be below the "lower string," and the "near string" at the same distance as the "far string." It is true that this group of figures is not referred to in the book, but the ideal method should be capable of meeting all contingencies, and Mrs. Jayne's modification might also lead to confusion where several people, it is said as many as eight in New Guinea, take part in the formation of a figure. When, however, one has defined for oneself the exact way in which the four terms in question are to be used, the descriptions given in the book are extremely clear, and I have met with no example in which I have not been able readily to construct a figure from the description.

There is one aspect of these games which has received no notice from Mrs. Jayne, nor, so far as I know, from others who have written on the subject. These games are of much psychological interest, and this is at the same time an ethnological interest, for

¹ *Man*, 1902, p. 146.

psychology may furnish the basis for a future classification of the figures.

In some cases it is possible to foresee what the result of each manipulation will be, even to a person whose visual imagination is but poorly developed, much more to those in whom it is highly developed, as is probably the case in most races of low culture. In other figures it is almost inconceivable that anyone could foresee the results of a given manipulation. In the figure of the Apache door, with which Mrs. Jayne begins her book, the strings at the penultimate stage of the game are in such an intricate jumble that it is incredible that anyone should be able to foresee that the next step will bring order to what seems an irretrievable chaos.

The interest of this lies in the fact that the first kind of figure could be discovered by one endowed with patience and a vivid visual imagination, while the second kind, if not arrived at by purely random manipulations, which is very improbable, must have been discovered by one who went to work with a definite idea in his mind. In the case of the Apache door, it is not difficult to see what this idea may have been. The special feature of this interesting figure is the reversal, at the end of a series of manipulations, of a movement which had been made at the beginning. It would seem as if the inventor of this figure had planned that he would throw the index loops over the hands, would then carry out a number of manipulations, and at the end would try the effect of bringing the original index loops back to the palms. The mental processes concerned in the latter method are of a higher order than those involved in the former, where the player merely proceeds from one concrete image to another. It seems to me that in general the figures made by the Papuans belong to the first group, while those of the second kind occur in America, and this is in accordance with what we might expect from the respective degrees of mental development of the two peoples.

At the end of her book, Mrs. Jayne gives some invented figures, and, in connection with the point just raised, it would have been interesting if these descriptions had been accompanied by introspective records of the processes followed by the

inventors; how far, for instance, the outcome was the result of fortuitous trials, how far of manipulations which were expected to give immediate results of a definite kind, and how far there was a conscious working towards a pattern, either from the beginning, or from some stage in another figure, or after fortuitous trials had suggested the possibility of a definite design. Such observations might go far to elucidate the mode of genesis of different forms of string figures, and the devotees of the game might then profitably experiment with children. After giving a certain amount of knowledge (which would have to be very carefully defined), children might be set to discover patterns for themselves, and the kinds of pattern made by children of different ages and capabilities might afford material for further insight into the nature of the processes involved.

W. H. R. RIVERS.

ALTÄGYPTISCHE SAGEN UND MÄRCHEN. By Prof. ALFRED WIEDEMANN. *Volksmund*, vol. vi. Leipzig: Deutsche Verlagsactiengesellschaft. Price 1 mk.

THE well-known Egyptologist of Bonn, Prof. Wiedemann, has published as the sixth volume of *Volksmund* a collection of nine ancient Egyptian tales and one account of an Egyptian voyage in the Mediterranean about 1000 B.C., which he treats as a folk-tale, though it is not generally regarded in that light. Most of these stories have long been known to the Folklorist, as well as to the Egyptologist, through the translations of Maspero in his *Contes Populaires de l'Égypte Ancienne*, but in this edition Prof. Wiedemann brings them in convenient form before the popular audience of Germany. The old favourites reappear, of course: the "Tale of the Two Brothers," the "Story of Saneha," "The Possessed Princess of Bekhten," and so on, are all well known to the popular audience of England, largely through the translations of Dr. Wallis Budge, which

appeared some years ago in the *Graphic*, with illustrations by Mr. J. R. Weguelin. Others, such as the Sindbad-like tale of the "Shipwrecked Sailor," who was so kindly entertained by a noble serpent who ruled an island in the Red Sea, and the "Sorcerer of King Cheops," who cut off ducks' heads and joined them on again, are perhaps not generally so well known. One, the "Story of Setna," with its weird adventures with ghosts in the tomb, is probably characteristically Egyptian: we should doubtless find, did we possess other manuscripts of this kind, that this sort of story was very common in the land of mummies and ghosts. There is a later story of a Christian bishop, Pisentios, who fled before the invading Persian heathens of Khusrau in the seventh century A.D., and found a hiding-place in a tomb full of mummies, with one of which he held long conversations respecting the condition of himself and the other mummies (or rather, we may suppose, their spirits) in hell. Prof. Wiedemann does not include this very Egyptian tale in his collection. One story which he does include, and quite rightly, is not known to us from any actual Egyptian document. This is the story of "King Rhampsinitus and the Thief," which we owe to Herodotus. It also is characteristically Egyptian, and we can see that Herodotus tells it to us very much as he heard it in Egypt. Another story which is not very well known is that of the "Wonderful Taking of the Town of Joppa," which is very well known as an echo of a historical incident, and because a historical personage is its hero. This is Thutia, a general of King Thothmes III. (about 1500 B.C.), who no doubt was the actual taker of Joppa, though he can hardly have taken it in the wonderful way attributed to him in the folk-tale which grew out of his achievement. With this tale Prof. Wiedemann groups the "History of Uenamen," who went to Phœnicia to fetch wood for the sacred boat of Amen at Thebes in the time of the Priest-Kings (about 1000 B.C.), and was cast away on an island, probably Cyprus. Prof. Wiedemann regards this history as a mere folk-tale like that of Thutia. But here we must join issue with him. There are in it no marvellous incidents, such as those of the magic staff of King Thothmes in the Thutia story; there is nothing wonderful

at all: it is simply a picturesque account of an actual embassy in which the ambassador had some interesting adventures, that is all. Prof. Wiedemann says it is an advertisement of the virtues and power of the god Amen, as the story of the "Possessed Princess of Bekhten" is an advertisement of the virtues and power of another god, Khonsu. But this can hardly be, for in the history of Uenamen, the ambassador of Amen is most evilly entreated of pirates and other wicked folk, and has a very bad time generally. If it was intended as an advertisement of Amen, it was a very bad one. The Theban priests would hardly cry such very stinking fish!

As Prof. Wiedemann points out in his preface, the great interest of these stories is their age. The actual papyri which contain them were written between 2000 and 1000 B.C. We advise any readers of *Folk-Lore* who are not acquainted with these, the oldest of the world's tales, to peruse this, the latest edition of them.

H. R. HALL.

THE HEROIC SAGA-CYCLE OF DIETRICH OF BERN. By F. E. SANDBACH. (No. 15 of Popular Studies. Nutt.)

THIS is a condensed but very interesting summary of the main features of a highly complex romantic cycle. In common with most modern scholars, Mr. Sandbach accepts the identity of Dietrich of Bern with Theodoric of Verona, the famous king of the Ostrogoths. After a brief account of the historical facts, the writer shows how the monarch of history became converted into the hero of romance; and how, by contamination with other saga-cycles, such as those of Ermeric, Attila, and Siegfried, his story finally assumed the confused and complicated form in which it has come down to us.

Brief summaries of the leading romances conclude this interesting study of a body of romance literature which, we fear,

attracts far less attention than it merits. We would recommend all who, having visited Innsbruck, have admired Peter Vischer's fine statue of Dietrich, which stands side by side with his world-famous Arthur, to provide themselves with this convenient summary of the hero's deeds.

But why does Mr. Sandbach, on pp. 17 and 19, refer to von Hahn's theory as the "*Exposure and Return*" formula, while on p. 24 he speaks of the "original basis of *expulsion*—and return"? This latter is the generally accepted translation of von Hahn's "*Aussetzung und Rückkehr*" formula. *Exposure* would have little meaning applied to such a hero as Siegfried, who admittedly belongs to this family.

JESSIE L. WESTON.

LE CYCLE TURC DES DOUZE ANIMAUX. PAR EDOUARD CHAVANNES. Leyden, 1906.

If you ask a Chinaman when he was born, he answers that it was in the year of the rat, the ox, the tiger, the hare, the dragon, the snake, the horse, the goat, the monkey, the cock, the dog, the bear, or, as some say, the pig. The problem of the origin of this cycle is the subject of this learned pamphlet by M. Chavannes. Dr. Williams, the author of the *Middle Kingdom*, was of opinion that it was not derived from the Hindus, but that both Hindus and Chinese got it from the Chaldeans. Prinsep believed that it came into India at a late period—about 965 A.D. Certainly the coincidences of the different versions suggest a common origin. M. Chavannes ascribes its invention to the Turks, who passed it on to the Chinese about the beginning of the Christian era, and suggests that it was adopted by the Egyptians from Central Asia when Egypt became a Roman Province. The objection that the monkey was unknown to the Turks he answers by assuming that it came to them from India, where Kanishka held the

northern Panjab and Kashmir in the first century A.D. The pamphlet is interesting, is supplied with full references to authorities, and is well illustrated.

W. CROOKE.

A DIALECT OF DONEGAL, being the Speech of Meenawannia, in the Parish of Glenties. By E. C. QUIGGIN, Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. Cambridge University Press, 1906. Price 10s. net.

THIS book, though it contains much folk-lore from a remote corner of Ireland, will be of little use to the general reader, as no English translation accompanies the Gaelic text. Its publication at least shows that the movement for the revival of the study of Irish Gaelic is extending to the sister island.

W. CROOKE.

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE IDEA OF HADES IN CELTIC LITERATURE.

BY ELIZABETH HULL.

(Read at Meeting, 21st November, 1906.)

THE chief object that I have in view in bringing before you the subject which, for lack of a better word, I have called the Idea of 'Hades' in Celtic Literature, is to plead for a better method in the study of Celtic legend and tradition.

In every department of thought, in historical and literary investigation, in classical studies, nay, even in the hitherto close domain of Biblical studies, historical methods of criticism have been fully accepted as those most likely to lead to accurate results. It is no longer possible to accept as a sufficient explanation of some difficulty the dictum of persons living in a different age and under conditions and methods of thought which have nothing beyond a surface similarity with the fact or theory we wish to explain, or to appeal to statements or legends or circumstances drawn from a totally

different order of things; it is no longer possible to explain away an historical fact by an allegorical interpretation, or, on the other hand, to read allegory into history, nor can we reckon as prophetic statements that are made after the event. This change of view is, I need not add here, a much larger matter than even the more careful investigation of documents and the attempt to decide the comparative age of different manuscripts, important as this department is; it involves the consideration of the weight of authority that is to be attached to each different writer, the investigation of the conditions under which he wrote, the influences to which he was subjected, the state of intellectual development of the people and nations amongst whom he lived, and by whom he must inevitably have been influenced; the intention he had in view, and the persons for whom he wrote.

It includes the effort to disentangle primitive myth from later beliefs, to separate myth and allegory from history, to consider on their merits the observations of native writers regarding their own traditions from within, and the observations of other peoples, possibly in a quite different stage of progress, from without. It is something separate from, and of far more importance than, the correct or incorrect statement of facts, it is an effort after a better or more scientific method of thought. Facts and even theories, wrongly stated, are certain to be sooner or later set right; but it is more difficult to correct a wrong method of investigation or deduction. It goes to the root of every study that we take in hand.

Now, in the study of Celtic tradition the methods of historical or literary criticism have not always been sufficiently applied. We are frequently presented, whatever be the immediate topic under consideration, with a perfectly bewildering mass of allusions, examples,

and statements, drawn indiscriminately from early or late tradition, from legend and myth and history, from sources Roman, Gallic, Welsh or Cumbrian, ancient, mediaeval and late Irish; the literature and memorials of some sixteen centuries of Irish history, alike from the pre-Christian and Christian strata of thought, being heaped together without, as a rule, the least effort being made towards historical perspective or the application of any principle whatever of historical development.

Far be it from me to suggest that the deductions drawn from this glittering wealth of material cast up upon the shore of tradition are always wrong; they are doubtless frequently right, for there is a wonderful continuity in Gaelic beliefs and modes of thought; but in the long run, a wrong method is more disastrous than any number of wrong inferences, for it vitiates the whole of the conclusions; and the method here criticised I think to be radically and vitally wrong.

Much of the brilliant writing even of such foremost authorities on Celtic subjects as M. D'Arbois de Jubainville and Professor Rhys, the two scholars to whom perhaps more than to all others we owe the spread of a more general interest and intelligence in matters relating to our own early traditions and literature, suffers from this method of handling. Not that such writers are entirely to be blamed. The collection of material must precede its systematisation, and when the earlier attempts were made to construct some sort of reasonable history of Celtic thought and tradition, such pioneer writers as these found themselves confronted with an almost overwhelming mass of hitherto little-used material which it was impossible at once to reduce to order.

Materials.—Now, what are the materials with which we have to deal in studying so-called 'Celtic' subjects, accepting the word in its popular sense as applying to the memorials of Gaul, ancient Britain, and Ireland?

The definition, though scientifically inexact, will serve us here, as it is the one which has been accepted in the writings which we have to criticise.¹

(1) *Latin Sources*.—First, we have the observations made by Roman writers from without, the observations of exceedingly keen observers, accustomed to mingle with other races, and habituated to recording their impressions of them; but still, in the case of Gaul and Britain, the observations of a conquering race slowly but surely subduing the tribes whose manners and beliefs they record, a race with fixed preconceived ideas and a well-developed system of mythology and religious ceremonies, whose advanced civilisation, now bordering on decay, was brought into rude contact with young races hardly yet emerging from the condition of things which we, perhaps ignorantly and presumptuously, call barbarism. More important still is it to recall the Roman attitude of mind towards the peculiarities of belief and doctrine among the peoples whom they came to conquer. It was part of the Roman system of colonisation to treat with a kindly or cynical tenderness the local cults of the conquered races, and to receive with wide-embracing arms the native deities into a common Pantheon. The cult of the common people was probably different from that of the Druids, and Rome did not quarrel with cults though it suppressed

¹ M. Salomon Reinach, in speaking of the remains of Gaulish art, says truly: "We must be cautious in applying the notion of race to the remains of ancient art. Anthropology knows no Celtic race, it distinguishes several Gallic types and knows that none of them are pure. As to common descent, it can never be more than an hypothesis, for it escapes the control of history as it escapes that of natural science. The attributes that we generally place to the account of race are in fact chiefly those of circumstance."—*Antiquités Nationales*.

The remark applies equally to literary memorials as to those of sculpture and metal-work, yet there is, as Mr. Nutt reminds me, such a thing as "historic nationality"; i.e. a type developed by race and circumstance combined.

Druidism. But to make the local gods into orthodox Roman deities they had to baptize them with orthodox Roman names and endow them with familiar attributes. The confusion that has resulted may be exemplified by the dispute that has arisen among the most learned authorities on Gallic monuments regarding a little figure in bronze, of a bearded man holding a mallet in one hand and a bowl in the other, which M. D'Arbois, following an identification made by M. Barthélemy in *Rev. Celt.* i. p. 1, considers to be a figure of Dis Pater, and to represent the god of Death, from whom Caesar avers that the Celts believed themselves to be descended. This identification fills so large a place in M. D'Arbois' argument about the Celtic Hades that we shall have to return to it again.

In Gaul all our information on the early conditions of belief have to be derived from the monuments. No written records have come down to us. The Druids, Caesar tells us, would not commit their knowledge to writing, partly because they considered it sacred, and partly because they wished to strengthen the memories of their students. Probably Caesar was right; there is certainly a tendency to mystery in their religion, shown in the earlier time in their avoidance of the human form in art and decoration, and their abstention from any attempt to make statues of their gods, and later, when, under foreign influences, Roman, Greek, Egyptian, and even Oriental, figures intended to represent the native deities were made, by their hesitation in inscribing on them their names—an unwillingness that has to this day involved the whole subject in obscurity. We have to remember that at the time of the conquest of Gaul by Caesar the native art was confined to decorative designs only; there was no attempt to represent the human figure in sculpture, or to represent any of the local gods. Though Caesar says that the Gauls possessed *simulacra* of Mercury,

none have been found except in connection with Roman remains and coins. But before the close of the first century, a crowd of divinities, unknown to the classical world, took their place in the laraires and temples of the three Gauls.¹ Yet though a great number of them are unknown, even by name, to the Greeks and Latins, they show the influence of foreign ideas and forms of art. Graeco-Egyptian influences had penetrated by way of the Alps on the Italian side, as well as on the south by the Valley of the Rhone and Marseilles, with which up to the opening of the Merovingian epoch Egypt was still in close connection. It was an Alexandrian named Zenodore who had made the colossal statue of Mercury at the Gaulish city of Arvernes, and a colony of veteran Alexandrians established by Augustus had introduced the cult of Isis and Anubis at Nîmes and in other parts of Southern Gaul.² Local deities are assimilated at one time to Serapis, at another to Jupiter, Hercules, or Sylvanus, at another it would appear to Buddha and Oriental deities.³ Frequently a Roman name is added to the native title, as Mars Camulus, Mercurius Atesmerius, Mercurius Dumias, etc. What is evidently the same native divinity reappears at different places with different attributes; he has been identified by some Roman observer at one place with Jupiter, at another he may be thought to resemble Mercury, elsewhere he is transformed by some change of costume or attribute into an Egyptian deity, with the appropriate symbols added. He may retain or he may lose his original symbols altogether. Sometimes the new attributes are added to the old, sometimes they altogether replace them. Amid such confusion of ideas as these

¹ See M. Alexandre Bertrand in *Rev. Archéologique*, 1880, 1882, and *Arch. Celtique et Gauloise* (Paris, 1889).

² M. Salomon Reinach, *Antiquités Nationales*.

³ Cf. M. A. Bertrand, "L'Autel de Saintes et les Triades Gauloises" (*Rev. Arch.* 1880, 1882).

statues show, we may well hesitate in too easily accepting the off-hand identifications of Caesar or any outside observer; they were probably as ignorant of the real meaning of the Gallic cults and the real significance of the local symbols as we ourselves are, and their assimilations were necessarily crude, taking into account surface resemblances only. It is unlikely that even if they had the desire they had the means of penetrating deeply into the sacred and mysterious cults of Celtic Gaul. The words of M. Réville in connection with Roman identifications of another set of national divinities may equally well apply to those of Gaul: "The studies that I am at this moment making in the Phœnician religion show me on what slight foundations the Greeks, and after them the Latins, undertook their identification of divinities. Melkart, god-patron of Tyre and Carthage, is called by the Greeks sometimes Apollo, or Hélios, because he is a Sun-god, sometimes Zeus, because he is the chief of the gods, sometimes Kronos, because he devours little children. This depends on the writer, or on those whose sayings he reports. And, in addition, they treat all these things with that profound insouciance which is always astonishing to us, reared as we have been in a school of fixed dogmatisms which are for ever showing their offensive points."¹ Thus we get no clear view of the Gaulish Pantheon in its original condition, we see it only through the spectacles of outside beliefs, and the literary remains which should have helped us, if they ever existed at all, are all swept away.

It appears to me to be a sufficient reason for hesitating to identify the beliefs and customs observed by the Roman writers in Gaul with those of Britain, and still more with those in Ireland, that the hints that we derive from the old native literature of these islands throw so little, if indeed they throw any light upon the purpose and

¹ *Rev. Celt.* x. p. 237.

meaning of the existing monuments of Gaul. Ireland in particular appears to have been in an earlier pre-sacrificial stage at a time when numerous and bloody sacrifices were part of the religious ceremonial of Gaul and Britain. We do not hear of the Druids taking the position of religious functionaries or sacrificing priests in Ireland until nearer Christian times, that is, about the fourth century; they are represented as magicians and medicine-men, counsellors of chiefs, and wizards, but they seem only to take a distinctively religious aspect when they are brought into active contact with and hostility to Christianity. In Gaul and Britain it is evident that they exercised ceremonial functions from much earlier times.¹ These considerations should make us most cautious in our examination of any theory which is deduced from a variety of passages, or of suggestions drawn indiscriminately from Roman, Gallic, and native sources. What may be a perfectly true statement, for example, regarding a particular development of belief in Gaul may be utterly inapplicable to Ireland either at the same or at any other period. Thus the belief cited by M. D'Arbois de Jubainville from Plutarch and Procopius showing that the Gauls had a legend of the existence of a dismal Isle of Spirits off the western coasts, to which the dead were ferried across the water, may be perfectly true of Gaulish tradition, but absolutely inapplicable to Ireland, which had evolved for itself a different order of ideas about the invisible world.² To identify this dreary and mournful land of ghosts, whence arise sighs and grief, with the joyous Irish Magh Mell or "Honey Plain," is to absolutely change its whole signification; there is no similarity whatever between the two ideas.

¹ This is no doubt largely to be accounted for by the difference in the evidence; an heroic romance will consider the magician exclusively in his "wise-man" aspect, a historian or theologian from the point of view of the religious functionary, but this does not entirely explain matters.

² *Cycle Myth*, pp. 231, 232.

If in Gaul we have monuments and no literature, we have in Wales and Ireland a copious literature and no monuments beyond a few inscribed ogham stones, probably all belonging to the Christian period.

In Welsh we have a more ancient Cumbrian or North of England and a later Welsh literature, both in song and prose, the song taking a more important place historically than it does in ancient Irish literature, as it is in many instances the only surviving record of events otherwise forgotten or only confusedly remembered in history; while in Ireland we have in most cases prose narratives founded on the earlier poetry, and formed out of it. But all this Welsh literature, whether older or later, has the disadvantage of a very decided Christian flavour. It is almost as though it had been purposely edited and improved for the use of Christian readers in later times.

In Ireland we have an output of pure romance which is extraordinarily copious. We have also a pseudo-historic period to which we owe the accounts of the imaginary incursions of five races into Ireland as successive tribes of settlers; and we have a large mixed literature of all kinds, prose and poetry, history, legend, and ecclesiastical material belonging to all ages, from perhaps the first to the seventeenth century, embodying signs of many changes of thought and variations in the point of view. A Welshman has, at all events, the satisfaction of knowing what he has to deal with: no lapse of time or advance of knowledge is likely greatly to increase his resources of native lore; but the Irish student is perpetually haunted by the feeling that whatever theory he advances, whatever line of thought he takes up, there may yet turn up on some unlucky day, in some hitherto uninvestigated manuscript at home or abroad, a passage which shall put to flight all his preconceived theories by showing him that in the old days, as in the new, a whole race did not

think alike, but men at different periods indulged different fancies about the same matter. And the Irish writers are disconcerting. When we have satisfactorily proved to our own mind that such and such was the theory of the Irish race on a certain subject at a certain time, some chance phrase or obscure passage springs up before us and belies all we have done. There is hardly any theory that cannot by some occasional phrase be overset; not even the theory I am about to propound to you to-night. That is the disadvantage of a copious literary output. I may as well say at once that in regard to the question that we have to discuss to-night, namely, whether the pagan Celt believed in a Hades in the sense in which M. D'Arbois de Jubainville and Professor Rhys invariably use the word, as a place of departed spirits, a land of shades and of death, a dark land ruled by what Rhys constantly calls the "dark divinities," the gods of death and of night, as opposed to the gods of light and knowledge and life—while I utterly disagree with their main theory, and hold that the Irish Gael, at all events, and probably his Welsh and Gallic cousins, were not at all possessed by such an idea, did not, in fact, so far as I can see, in general believe in a world of departed spirits at all, much less believe in it as a place of gloom and darkness, there are one or two passages which seem to contradict this theory and make distinctly for the belief held by Rhys and de Jubainville. But these passages are so rare and so surprising that to build a theory upon them seems to me to get matters out of proportion altogether. Most of them are obscure, and may almost as easily be interpreted in another way; indeed, many points relied upon seem to me to bear a quite different meaning, as I hope to show by one or two examples. It seems to me as dangerous to build up a theory from a single passage (and there is only one explicit passage brought forward, which I shall now at

once quote) when the whole trend of a literature seems to bear a different interpretation, as it would be to contend that Lugh, who is essentially the Irish sun-god, the "gifted child" with "golden pipes," the possessor of all the arts and of all known science, the radiant one whose face enlightens the world, is a god of darkness and death, because before the battle of Moytura he is represented as hopping round the host "on one foot and with one eye closed" singing a martial chant, just like any dark, ill-constituted deity among the Fomorian giants, who are always represented as ill-shapen and grotesque. It was certainly very unorthodox of Lugh, and very upsetting to our fixed opinions as to what a sun-god ought to do; but I do not think it warrants us in transforming him, with all the allusions in the literature on the other side, into a "dark divinity." Nor yet does the fact that he is often associated with ravens, and that in a medallion which appears to represent the genius of the town of Lugudunum or Lyons, which may possibly mean the "Fort" or "Town of Lugh," the youthful figure is attended by a raven.¹ Yet on some such ground Professor Rhys contends that the Blessed Bran, son of Don, and brother of Manawyŷan, whose pagan record was so bright that the British Christians made him the bringer of Christianity to Wales, and the first saint of their country, was a "dark divinity," because his name signifies a "crow" or "raven."² We are constantly being reminded that the

¹ M. W. Fröhner, *Les Musées de France* (Pl. XV. 2); and M. de Witte, art. "Le génie de la ville de Lyon" (*Ann. des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres; Comptes Rendus*, p. 65, 1877).

² Rhys, *Arthurian Legend*, p. 256. Though the scall-crow or raven was usually connected with death and battlefields in Ireland, it is doubtful whether it had any such meaning in Gaul. In Strabo and in Northern mythology ravens are birds of prophecy and foresight. Odin has two ravens which sit on his shoulders and tell into his ears what they have heard in their flight through the world (A. Holzman, *Deutsche Mythologie*, herausgegeben von A. Holder, 1874, pp. 47-54).

Brython and Gael, if he had fixed ideas on such subjects at all, was rather inconsequent in their application, and did not always carry out the theories we conceive that he ought to have had with so systematic an adherence to mythological classification as might have been wished.

The passage to which I refer is found in the short story called *Echtra Connla Chaim*, or the "Adventures of Connla the Fair," and is spoken by a fair lady who endeavours by her persuasive vision of a land of life beyond the great shore to induce Connla to accompany her into Magh Mell, where reigns the immortal monarch Buadach, where neither death nor sin are known, where feasts have no need of preparation, where no quarrel disturbs their happy gatherings, and where the body of Connla shall never decay or his youth and beauty wither. Then comes her final appeal. "Connla, thou who art seated in a place of honour amongst mortals who shall die (he was eldest son of the King of Ireland), thou who awaitest the dread hour of death, the Immortal Ones invite thee to come to them; thou art a hero to the people of Tethra, he desires to see thee daily in the assemblies of thy fatherland, in the midst of those that thou hast known and who are dear to thee" (Windisch, *Irische Grammatik*, p. 120). This mention of Tethra is very curious. He seems to be in this story one of two kings reigning in Magh Mell. Now, we know very little of Tethra. Though he was one of the chiefs of the Fomorians, or gods of barbarism and ignorance, at the time of their conflict with the Tuatha Dé Danann, the gods of light and civilisation, we do not hear of him during the second battle of Moytura as taking a prominent part in the fighting. After the battle was over, however, we are told that "Ogma the champion found Tethra's sword and cleansed it; whereupon, after the manner of swords at the time, it began to relate

the deeds that had been done by it."¹ Another of the rare allusions to Tethra is that found in the *Dialogue of the Sages*, in which the youthful bard Nede replies to the question put to him by the aged Ferchertne, "What is it that lies before thee?" (*lit.* "undertakes to"). "I go," he said, "into the mountain of youth, into the plain of age . . . into an abode of clay, between candle and fire,² between battle and its horrors, among Tethra's mighty men." Tethra is said, in the tale of the *Wooing of Emer*, to be uncle to Forgall the Willy of Lusk, and his sons are among the guardians of Emer, and in the *Forus Focail* the word Tethra is glossed by *badhbh*, "a scarecrow"; it seems, like the *Badhbh* or goddess of battles and rapine, to mean a "raven" or "Royston-crow." It also bears the meaning of the "sea" or "ocean"; in O'Clery's glosses we find "*teathra*, that is, *muir*=the sea."³ It is clear from two passages in the tale called *The Wooing of Emer*, that this latter is the true meaning of Tethra's name. In relating to Emer the route he had taken, Cuchulain tells her that he had slept "in the house of the man who tends the cattle of the plain of Tethra," and when asked what he means by this, he replies "The man in whose house I slept, he is the fisherman of Conor. Ronen is his name. It is he who catches the fish on his line under the sea; for the fish are the cattle of the sea, and the sea is the plain of Tethra, a king of the kings of the Fomori" (K. Meyer in *Arch. Rev.* vol. i. pp. 72, 152).

¹ Possibly this means that the deeds of the sword were inscribed upon the metal, and became visible when the sword was cleansed.—Comp. *Sickbed of Cuchulain* (*Atlantis*, vol. i. pp. 370-1).

² A Christian glossographer explains this to mean "between death and judgment," but its original meaning seems to have been that of a confined and narrow place (here, the grave) such as was the dwelling of a churl. Comp. *Wooing of Emer* (Hull, *Cuchullin Saga*, p. 65).

³ See Cormac's *Glossary*, art. *Tethra*, and O'Reilly's *Dict.* under *Teathra* and *Troghan*.

Tethra, then, is a king of the Fomorians. He is ruler of a land beneath or beyond the sea, evidently the Irish Elysium. It would seem from the passage we have quoted that Connla is invited to resort to the land here called his "fatherland," and to join the people of Tethra, where "those whom he had known awaited him." I do not know that there is any other passage where a Fomorian is said to rule in the unseen world, or where this world is distinctly spoken of in a piece which has a markedly pagan flavour, as a place where human ancestors are assembled after death.¹ It is, so far as I can see, the only really sound ground adduced by M. D'Arbois for his contention that the Irish Celts believed in a world of shades, or Hades, beyond this life. But M. D'Arbois, in his *Cycle Mythologique Irlandaise*, makes this isolated passage the foundation and leading argument of his whole volume; again and again it is reiterated in different connections. This, I think, is to get things out of proportion, and to impress a view—in this case, I think, a very uncertain view—derived from an obscure and isolated passage, by means that will hardly bear the weight of the argument laid upon them.

M. D'Arbois draws his arguments indiscriminately from Roman sources, and from the widely different strata of Irish legendary lore.

(2) His second point is founded on the well-known quotation of Caesar: "Galli se omnes ab Dite patre prognatos praedicant, idque a druidibus proditum dicunt" (*De Bello Gallico*, Bk. vi. 18, § 1). "The Celtic doctrine," D'Arbois adds, "is that men have for first ancestor the

¹ It is difficult to tell how far Christian thought has influenced such a story. Though it contains distinctly Christian allusions its form is pagan, and the idea that the world of death is ruled by Tethra must be an old one. In stories of the other world where the tone is Christianised, as *The Voyage of Teigue Son of Cian*, the idea of finding the dead in Paradise is of course usual, in accordance with Christian belief.

god of death, and this god inhabits a region far beyond the ocean; he has as his dwelling the 'extreme isles,' whence, according to the Druidical teaching, a part of the inhabitants of Gaul had arrived direct."¹

And again: "In Celtic belief, the dead go to inhabit across the ocean, to the south-west, there where the sun goes down during the greater part of the year, a marvellous region whose joys and seductions surpass those of this world. This is the country from which men came. It is called in Irish *Tír beo*, the land of the living, *tír n-aill*, the other world, *mag mór*, the great plain, *mag mēd*, the pleasant plain" (*Cycle Mythologique*, p. 28).

Here is the second step; that men not only go when they die into the other world, but they also came from thence; a belief which he founds on the testimony of a Latin writer, and supports by an Irish doctrine of Elysium unknown, so far as we know, to Latins and Gauls alike.

Immediately afterwards he continues: "For this pagan name (*i.e.* *Mag Mór*) to which nothing in the Christian beliefs corresponded, the euhemerism of the Christian annalists substituted the Latin name of the Iberian Peninsula, Hispania. After the tenth century, when Nennius wrote, this name, unknown to primitive Ireland, had penetrated into the legend of Partholon; it was from Spain, and not from the land of death, that this mythical chief of the first inhabitants was made to come with his companions" (p. 29) . . . and again, in criticising the account of the return of the second race of settlers from Ireland, according to Nennius and the late pseudo-historic accounts, he says that they re-embarked and returned into Spain, adding: "In this text, the word Spain is a learned translation of the Irish words *mag mór*, etc., by which the pagan Irish designated the country of the dead, the place of origin,

¹ *Cycle Myth.* p. 26, 27, quoting Ammianus Marcellinus (*Alios quoque ab insulis extremis confluisse*), Bk. xv. ch. 9 § 4.

and last asylum of the living" (p. 85) . . . "The primitive text of the narrative that Nennius had under his eyes transported this race from Ireland not into Spain, but into the land of the dead" (p. 117). Here he actually imagines the existence not only of a tradition, but of actual manuscripts proving the tradition, that a statement made by Caesar with regard to the belief of the inhabitants of Gaul held true also in Ireland, and he argues that the manuscripts relating to the legendary settlements of the peoples of Ireland have been deliberately changed to support this view. But there is not any sign that these particular legends of the settlements have undergone a change corresponding to this view.

To return to Caesar's statement, that the Gauls thought themselves to be descended from Dis Pater, "the god of death," it is to be remarked that Caesar makes the announcement in explanation of the fact that the Gauls reckoned all kinds of time not by days, but by nights, and that when they were calculating birthdays or the beginning of the months and of the year, they always took care to place the night before the day (*De Bello Gallico*, vi. c. 18 § 1, 2). But though Caesar might have conceived some such explanation necessary in what appeared to him a peculiar custom, we know that the Gauls were by no means the only nation to count time in this manner. Among other nations, the Norse appear to have done so, and we find the same method of reckoning employed in the first chapters of Genesis.

A great deal of discussion has been aroused by the identification by M. de Barthélemy of the small figure of the man with the cup and mallet with the Dis Pater of Caesar. It is a statuette in bronze found at Prémieux (Côte-d'Or), now in the Museum of Beaune, and represents a man with a mass of hair peaked in front, and a beard and heavy moustache, standing erect, clad in a tunic to

the knees, and ornamented with crosses and figures, and with a band round the waist. M. Salomon Reinach accepts M. Barthélemy's identification of this figure with Dis Pater or Pluto, but there are difficulties in the way of an acceptance of this view, one of the most serious being the rare use of the mallet as a symbol of the infernal deity. This is only found elsewhere among the Etruscans and in the north of Italy, the larger number of the God-mallet type in Gaul being found in the Rhone Valley; there is no trace of them in Britain, Aquitaine, or Belgium. As usual, the figure undergoes a large variety of transformations, and is found with numerous different symbols, and in different groups, so that it has been at one time identified with Sylvanus, at another with Jupiter, or with the Serapis of Græco-Egyptian art.¹

A more probable theory, however, is that put forth by M. Cerquand, and supported by him by a large number of illustrative legends, that this god of the mallet is an Indo-European divinity corresponding to Thor the Hammerer.² He points out that the first hammers or mallets were of stone like the first knives, the word *hamar* signifying at once "stone" and "hammer," and he considers that the hammer or mallet has been substituted for an original stone or thunderbolt, as the hammer of Thor was for the silex of Donar. Two Gaulish pre-Roman coins bearing the emblem of a

¹ M. Anatole de Barthélemy's article will be found in *Rev. Celt.* i. p. 1; see also Salomon Reinach's *Description raisonnée du musée de St. Germain-en-Laye*; and his article on "L'Art plastique en Gaule et le Druidisme," *Rev. Celt.* 1892, pp. 189-199; Grivaud, *Recueil des monuments*, ii. (No. 5), pp. 33 and 64; Flouest, *Deux Sillies*, p. 61.

² M. J. F. Cerquand, *Taranis Lithobolus; Étude de Mythologie Celtique*, Avignon, 1881; and see his art. "Taranis et Thor," *Rev. Celt.* vi. p. 417. He says that in Neo-Celtic and Indo-European languages all the analogues of Taranis are etymologically associated with thunder; see also Henri Gaidoz, *Esquisse de la religion des Gaulois*.

warrior on horseback have a short mallet like that of Thor thrown in front of the horse's head, showing that the idea of the flung hammer was familiar in Gaul (*Rev. Celt.* i. p. 1, *seq.*).

M. Cerquand has collected a number of classical examples as well as of local traditions connected with the hurling of stones as engines of war and of the transference of the idea of the massive stone flung by hand into that of the thunderbolt hurled from heaven. The idea of destruction by stones or weapons hurled upon the enemy is a familiar one in Gaulish and also in Irish tradition. To the examples he has collected might be added the club of the Dagda, the destruction caused by whose blows was "as the destruction of hail-stones crushed beneath the feet of a herd of horses" (second Battle of Moytura, *Rev. Celt.* xii. pp. 52, 306-8), or the strokes of Balor of the Mighty Blows; but more especially the Titanic warfare in the *Táin bó Cuailnge* made by the hero Amargin upon the hosts of Meave, he "lying on the west side of Taillte with his left elbow under him" and pelting the enemy's host with rocks and flags and great blocks of stone.¹ For three days and nights he continues to shower rocks upon the host of Meave, much as the god of Delphi poured down upon the Gaulish host assembled to attack the oracle enormous stones detached from Parnassus which crushed whole companies beneath them. (Pausanias, x. 23.)

In like manner Iliach the aged warrior filled his chariot with "stones and blocks of rock and flags" which he hurled against the men of Ireland (*Táin bó Cuailnge*, xxxiii. 5, p. 657). Possibly the flinging of sharp-edged shields in combat which was common in Ireland may have been a reminiscence of the throwing of stones in an earlier and ruder age.

¹ *Táin bó Cuailnge*, Windisch, xxiii. 6, p. 661.

Without amplifying the argument further, it may be said that the identification of the God of the Mallet as a Gaulish Thor is at least as probable as, and even more consonant with Celtic tradition than, its assimilation with Dis Pater and the remark of Caesar about that deity. Its identification with Charon or Pluto is more evident in such a bas-relief as that of Varhèly in Austria, where we get a woman and child and a three-headed dog associated with this figure, or in that at Marseilles, where the god and female figure have a dog between them and a boat beneath. Elsewhere the mallet has given place to a thunderbolt, and the god has evidently been identified with Jupiter, while in Provence we find the same divinity transformed into Sylvanus. Like other native Gaulish gods it has undergone many varieties of description, and it would be dangerous to build on any one possible form under which it is found a wide-extended theory of belief. Most of these assimilations depend upon beliefs not native to Gaul, but introduced from outside by settlers, who adapted to their needs the traditions of the local cults. As regards the local cults themselves, they are as mysterious to us to-day as they were to the Romans in the first century. The comparison instituted by M. de Barthélemy between this god of the mallet and the mallet-bearing functionary at the Roman games who bore away the bodies of dead gladiators, called by Tertullian Dis Pater, seems too far-fetched to have much bearing on the subject. It does not seem, any more than do the varied literary sources from which M. D'Arbois has derived his argument, to bear the full weight of the deductions drawn from it; nor does his equation of the Gaulish triad of gods Teutates, Taranus, and Hesus, as forms of the god of death, with Bress, Balor, and Tethra, the three Fomorian chiefs, seem quite as convincing as it is ingenious. It necessitates a homogeneity of belief and legend between Gaul

and Ireland which we have little ground for presupposing.¹

Professor Rhys, accepting in general M. D'Arbois's theory of the land of the dead, goes much further. He finds this doleful country everywhere, and a travelling people like the Britons, Gauls, and Irish must have been perpetually in danger of falling into it! In his *Arthurian Legend*, the kings of Hades are as numerous as (to use an old Irish expression) "the son of Ler's horses in a storm at sea."² Among them are Uther Pendragon, Bran otherwise Balan, Gwen ab Nùð, Llyr, Urien, Aralach and his father, Beli, in addition, of course, to Arawn, Avagðu, Pwyll, and Pryderi. Among others, the following places are regarded as having been sites of Hades itself: Britain, Caledonia, Ireland, the district south of the Thames at Westminster, the Isles of Man, Tory, and Bardsey, Glastonbury, Gower or Somerset, Cornwall, with numerous local sites within the borders of Wales.

The general impression left upon the mind by these volumes is that the Celts, alike of Gaul, Britain, and Ireland, were oppressed by the perpetual sense of a surrounding world of death and gloom from which they came, and to which they must go, the conception of this world being distinctly that of a place of the dead to which all the dead *must* go, and from which, inasmuch as it is always placed beyond the waters, they could (happily for the living) never return. However M. D'Arbois de Jubainville may guard himself by an occasional reference to earlier and brighter Greek conceptions of the unseen

¹ See M. Cerquand's interesting remarks on Taranus (the Taranis of Lucain) in his *Taranis Lithobolæ*, already referred to, and M. Bertrand's study of the Gaulish god-triads in "L'Autel de Saintes et les Triades Gauloises," *Rev. Archéol.* 1880, 1882.

² The horses of Manannan son of Ler, the god of ocean, were the foaming crests of the billows.

world,¹ this is the impression left upon the mind by the constant use of the word "Hades," and the belief that it was a world of the dead, and ruled by Gods of Death, or "Dark Divinities." Professor Rhys eventually accepts the word in its full meaning as a place of the departed, a dark world of shades.

Now, I believe that this general impression is a wrong one, and that whatever may have been the tradition in Gaulish mythology (a tradition now entirely lost to us), in Welsh literature and in Irish literature, at all events, a different conception prevails. The conception that the Celts believed themselves to have originated in a country of the dead I hold to be largely, if not entirely, a fiction of the imagination, grown out of a possibly erroneous idea picked up in Gaul by that inquisitive but not very deeply-reflecting Roman soldier, Caesar, and adopted by him without much consideration as explaining a fact which puzzled him, namely, why the Gauls counted time by nights instead of days. The idea does not seem to gain any support from Irish and Welsh literature, and but a doubtful support from the remaining Gaulish monuments.

Secondly, the idea that this unseen world was one into which only the dead could go, and from which they could never return, is contradicted by a long series of stories in which persons specially invited might go in life, and did frequently return again.

Thirdly, the idea that this world was conceived of as a place of the dead at all is only faintly shadowed in a few isolated and obscure passages in that part of the literature which seems to retain most of the pagan flavour and spirit, and does not seem to have been a general belief until Christianity had revolutionised the original pagan doctrine.

¹ For example, by his reference on p. 17 to Hesiod's *Opera et dies*, verse 168-169.

Fourthly, that it was a gloomy world of shades ruled by Dark Divinities is absolutely contradicted by the descriptions we have of it; by its names, as the Land of the Living, of Youth, of Honey, of Promise, the Wonderland, the Silver Cloud Land, and many others, all indicating that in the popular thought it was counted a land of bliss; by the fact that in Christian times this Land of Promise is everywhere identified with the Christian Paradise, and not with Hell; and by the fact that except in rare passages, such as that relating to Tethra, it is usually represented as presided over by the Gaelic and Welsh Gods of Light, and not of Darkness. It is evident that the chief reason of the choice of Tethra and Manannan as its rulers was due to their position as gods of the ocean, beyond which Magh Mell was supposed to lie.

I think more attention might well be paid than has been paid to the motive underlying the legends connected with Annwyn (pron. "ànnwvn" with a closed *a*, mod. form, *ànnwfn* or *annwn*). They seem to fall into two fairly distinguishable groups, viz.: a group in which the motive is a raid into the other world or Annwyn, by violence, for the purpose of carrying off from it some of its treasures or possessions, and a group in which some chosen mortal is elected by the inhabitants of the hidden country, generally by its queen, to come and remain for a time in the place of bliss in which she dwells.

The first group of tales, which seem to bear a rude and primitive complexion, and which take the aspect of a raid such as was being constantly made between neighbouring chiefs or farmers in the upper world for the purpose of carrying off treasure, are more common in Welsh than in Irish myth, though they are found in both; the peaceful motive of the second group is hardly more than suggested in Welsh story, but in Ireland it forms the theme of one of the largest departments of the romance literature.

Among the first class we may place the very striking Welsh poems called *The Spoiling or Victories of Annwyn*, the *Battle of Goŷeu or Battle of the Trees* (called also the *Battle of Achren*), the *Tale of Kilhwch and Olwen*, and the *Mabinogi of Mâth*, son of Mathonwy.

In Irish literature the bursting of Cuchulain into the Land of Scâth or Scathach, described by Cuchulain himself in metaphorical language in the "Phantom Chariot of Cuchulain," and, with more of the aspect of an actual event, in the "Wooing of Emer"; the raid of Fraech with Conall Cernach, for the recovery of his wife and his cows in the Alps ("Elpa") in the *Book of Fermoy*, and the corresponding raid of Cuchulain into the Island of Falga to bring away Blathnat and the three cows and cauldron, belong to the same series of tales, and are dominated by the same underlying *motif*. In all these cases the attempt is made against the wish of the dwellers in the distant land, and with the object of robbing them of their possessions, and is accompanied accordingly with severe labours and perils. In these poems, too, lives are lost in endeavouring to effect an entry. The place itself assumes a gloomy aspect, and the return from it is made with loss and difficulty. In the *Spoiling of Annwn* we read:

- I. "I will praise the sovereign, supreme Lord of the land,
Who hath extended his dominion over the shore of the world.
Complete (stout?) was the prison of Gwelr (i.e. Gwydion)¹ in Caer Sidi,
Through the spite* of Pwyll or Pryderi. (*or 'permission,' Stephens)
No one before him went into it.
The heavy blue chain held the faithful youth ('firmly held,' Stephens)
And before the Spoils of Annwn woefully he sings,
And till doom shall continue a bard of prayer.
Thrice enough to fill Prydwen (i.e. Arthur's ship) we went into it
Except seven, none returned from Caer Sidi."

¹ Gwydion was one of the Sons of Dôn or Gods of Light, and he was uncle to Lleu, the Sun-God.

And again :

III. "Am I not a candidate for fame with the listened song,
 'to be heard in song,' Stephens)
In Caer Pedryvan, in the isle of the strong door?
The twilight and pitchy darkness were mixed together.
Bright wine their liquor before their retinue
 ('the beverage of the host'),
Thrice enough to fill Prydwen we went on the sea,
Except seven, none returned from Caer Rigor."

—Stephen's *Lit. of the Cymri*, p. 183; Skene, *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, vol. i. p. 264.

The object of the raid in the *Spoiling of Annwn* seems to have been the carrying off of its most splendid treasure, the cauldron set with an edge of pearls, belonging to its chief, and "warmed by the breath of nine maidens." This cauldron, like that in Cormac's Adventure in the Land of Promise, was a discriminating pot, for it would not boil the food of a coward. The cauldron which Cormac found, called the Cauldron of Truth, would only boil the food put into it during the recital of four absolutely accurate tales; any romancer venturing to draw upon his imagination for his facts arrested the progress of the cooking operations, and the pig inside could by no manner of means be boiled. Cauldrons of Truth, or of Renovation, of Life, or of inexhaustible supplies of food, are an essential element in all tales of the unseen world.¹

In the *Battle of Godeu*,² in which the trees and shrubs and flowers form themselves into battle array and take part in the fight, the conflict is said to be against the Gwledig of Britain; but its real object, as we read else-

¹ Professor Anwyl says that the upper world is sometimes called *dydd* or *adfant*, the latter word meaning a place with the rim turned back, as though it were conceived of as a huge cauldron (*Celtic Religion*, p. 62).

² *Bk. of Taliessin*, viii. cf. Skene, *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, i. 276; ii. 399.

where, was to recover a white roe-buck and a puppy which belonged to Annwuyn, but had been caught by Amathaon, son of Dôn. Brân, King of Annwuyn, and Amathaon fought together in a battle in which 71,000 lives were lost—a large expense of life for the rescue of “a bitch, a roe, and a lapwing,” as the author of the Triad called “The Three Frivolous Battles,”¹ of which this is (rather cynically) put down as one, seems to think.

When, however, we consider that these things were the treasured possessions of the other world, we understand their value. The struggles gone through are thus described by Taliessin:

“ I pierced the beast of the great gem,
Which had a hundred heads
And a formidable battalion
Under the root of its tongue,
Another battalion
In the back of its head,
A gaping black toad
With a hundred claws,
A crested snake of many colours,
A hundred souls by reason of sin
Are tormented in its flesh. . . .”

—Skene, *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, i. p. 277; Rhys, *Hib. Lec.* p. 258.

So in the Mabinogi of Máth, son of Mathonwy, Gwydion, enchanter of the flowers and shrubs in the Battle of Goðeu, and brother of its leader Amathaon, penetrates into the country of Pryderi, son of Pwyll, and carries off, by means of a similar sort of enchantment to that of the trees in the Kat Goðeu, the swine which had been sent to Pryderi from Annwuyn by Arawn its king. It would seem as though the pig had then been only recently introduced into Wales, so careful is the

¹ *Myceyrian Arch.* i. 167; *Triads*, i. 47; iii. 50; cf. Rhys, *Hib. Lec.* pp. 244-5.

description of these animals, and so valuable do they appear.¹

The swine are refused by Pryderi, and are only obtained by a ruse; to secure them a battle is fought, in which Pryderi's men are slaughtered in such numbers that he has to give hostages, he himself being subsequently slain by Gwydion. In every case these difficult and perilous expeditions into Annwbyn are far from being, as Rhys and De Jubainville seem to suggest, descents by spirits into a land of the dead; they are raids made into the bright country for the definite object of carrying off treasures,—a cauldron, a bitch, swine, etc.,—held in great repute by the inhabitants of Annwbyn. The difference is very marked, and corresponds rather to the attempt of Hercules to win the golden apples from the garden of the Hesperides through his conflict with the serpent guarding the tree than with that hero's descent into Hades. Unfortunately for us, these Welsh poems, old as they undoubtedly are in parts, and ancient as are many of the allusions they contain, are imbued with sentiments derived from Christian teaching. Addresses to Christ, religious expressions, prayers and thanksgivings, form part of almost every poem, even of those that are most ancient. Even in the *Spoils of Annwn*, which is one of the most archaic, as it is one of the most impressive, of all the ancient Welsh or Cumbrian poems, the last stanza is entirely occupied with the misdoings and ignorance of the monks, who, though they are said to "congregate like wolves," yet have not acquired that

¹ "So they went to Math, son of Mathonwy. 'Lord,' said Gwydion, 'I have heard that there have come to the south some beasts such as were never known in this island before.' 'What are they called?' he asked. 'Pigs, Lord.' 'And what kind of animals are they?' 'They are small animals, and their flesh is better than the flesh of oxen.' 'They are small, then?' 'Yes, and they change their names; swine are they now called,' etc. (Nutt's edition, p. 59).

knowledge of the secrets of nature which was the proud possession of the pagan bards:

"They know not when the deep night and dawn divide,
Nor what is the course of the wind, or who agitates it,
In what place it dies away, on what land it roars;"

while I imagine that but for Christian teaching about sin and its punishment, such lines as those found in *Kat Goëu*:

"A hundred souls through sin
Shall be tormented in its flesh"—

would have been impossible. Now, as there is no portion of Irish imaginative literature that has been more modified and changed through contact with Christian influences than that portion of it relating to the unseen world, it is little likely that Welsh literature escaped without something of the same modification. The immense influence exercised upon the mediaeval mind by the subject known as the "Harrowing of Hell," a subject which produced one of earliest long poems written in the English language,¹ could not have been unfelt in Wales.

The only poem in Irish which recounts a similar experience is open to the same criticism. Cuchulain was recalled to a phantom-life on one occasion by St. Patrick, in order that he might assist in the conversion of the Irish king Laery (Laeghaire) by attesting from his own experience the truth of Patrick's assertions regarding the future life in heaven and hell. Laery was a stout pagan, and, according to this story, he declared that nothing would induce him to believe in the Saint, nor yet in God, unless he should call up Cuchulain in all his dignity, as he was recorded in the old stories, to add his testimony to the truth of Patrick's declarations. Cuchulain comes from hell, to which place all the great heroes of

¹ The "Harrowing of Hell" is supposed to have been written in Kent in the latter part of the ninth century.

the ancient time were relegated as obstinate unbelievers by the religious of later days. He is there said to be usefully employed in plying his renowned weapon, the *Gae bolga*, on the demons; while they, on their side, are scourging the hosts of Ulster around King Conor (Conchobhar), the king himself only being preserved by the special intervention of Mary's Son. This account of the doings of Cuchulain in hell is mixed up with a vivid description of a raid made by him in his lifetime into the Land of Scáth, or 'Shadow,' in order to secure for himself a special cauldron with the treasures of gold and silver which it contained, as also three cows of wonderful properties kept in a fortress "vast by the north."

The poem seems to be a confused reminiscence of three events in Cuchulain's career, all attended with difficulty and danger, viz. his journey as a youth to the fort of the Amazon Scathach; his rape of Blathnat, wife of Curoi and daughter of Midir, from Midir's palace in Inis Falga (the Isle of Man or the Hebrides), along with his magic cauldron and three cows; and his carrying off the white red-eared cows of Echaid Echbél of Alba, which used to come and graze in Co. Antrim, evidently another version of the same incident.

Though the incidents in this story seem to be preserved in a very archaic form, the tone and setting have been coloured by Christian ideas, just as Cuchulain, when he asks St. Patrick to take him with him to the "Land of Promise," means not the Pagan Paradise, but the Christian heaven.

Such efforts to enter by force and carry off the treasures of the unseen world seem to have been one of the feats demanded of a warrior of renown as a final test of prowess, being, as it was, attended with so much peril and difficulty.

I think it is unfortunate that the word "Hades," with

all its associations, should be applied to the world into which they went. Inevitably the idea of a place of gloom and of departed spirits attaches to the use of this word. Nay, imagination travels farther, and almost unconsciously the native conception of the Spoiling of Annwbyn becomes associated with the mediæval Christian doctrine of the Harrowing of Hell. M. d'Arbois and Professor Rhys speak always of the place as one of gloom and terror, a prison-house in which the ghosts of men are detained, ruled, and presided over by "Dark Divinities." But the earliest description we have in Welsh literature of Annwbyn is utterly unlike such an idea of it; it has, on the contrary, all the characteristics of Magh Mell, the Irish Elysium fields. We are, in fact, in great difficulty for want of a word to express the Celtic conception. The title of "Happy Other-world," which Mr. Nutt uses in his *Voyage of Bran*, and which has been generally adopted, seems too vague and indefinite to express to the mind the brilliant Irish conception of Magh Mell. Yet, even in choosing a title for this essay, I was forced to adopt the very word "Hades" which I think to be so misleading, because no other more satisfactory word seemed to suggest itself. The Welsh word Annwbyn or Annwfn is equally unsuited to express the earliest idea of the British Celt. For Annwfn means "very deep," an "abyss" (*dwfn*=deep), and nothing could be more unlike the cheerful descriptions given of the place in Welsh literature than such a title. Professor Morris Jones thinks, and I have no doubt rightly, that the word has replaced, under later influences, some more ancient name now lost to us, and has become identified in the Christian consciousness with the place of the dead.

The earliest description we have in Welsh literature of Annwfn, to which I referred above, is found in the *Mabinogi of Pwyll, Prince of Dyved*. Pwyll, who is out hunting one day, meets a chieftain named Arawn, who

tells him that he is a crowned king in the land from which he had come, namely, Annwbyn, where another king of the same country is engaged in war with him. By mutual agreement they arrange to exchange kingdoms and personalities for a year, and Pwyll is conducted by Arawn to the entrance of his palace and its surrounding buildings, and invited to enter the Court as king. The story continues: "So he went forward into the Court, and, when he came there, he beheld sleeping-rooms and halls and chambers, and the most beautiful buildings ever seen. And he went into the hall to disrobe, and there came youths and pages and disrobed him, and all as they entered saluted him. And two knights came and drew his hunting-dress from about him, and clothed him in a vesture of silk and gold. And the hall was prepared, and behold he saw the household and the host enter in, and the host was the most comely and the best equipped that he had ever seen. And with them came in likewise the Queen, who was the fairest woman that he had ever yet beheld. She had on a yellow robe of shining satin; and they washed and went to table and sat, the Queen on one side of him, and one who seemed to be an Earl on the other side.

"And he began to speak with the Queen, and he thought from her speech that she was the seemliest and most noble lady of converse and of cheer that ever was. And they partook of meat and drink, with songs and feasting; and of all the Courts upon earth, behold this was the best supplied with food and drink, and vessels of gold and royal jewels."¹

Now, except that we find a king—or, rather, kings—reigning in Annwbyn (or Annwfn), instead of, as is usual in the Irish stories, a Queen, this description exactly agrees with the accounts of the beauty and

¹ *Pwyll, Prince of Dyved*, Nutt's ed. pp. 4-6. See also *Muth, son of Mathonwy*, pp. 59-60.

gladsomeness of Magh Mell, the Irish Land of Youth and Promise. Nothing could be further removed from those notions of death and gloom that we associate with Hades than the account of this cheerful "Other-world." It is manifest that the name *Annwfn* as "an abyss" in no way fits it, any more than does M. Gaidoz's attempt to equate the word with the Breton "*anaoun*," and make it a place of souls.¹ The idea of it as a place inhabited by the souls of men is quite foreign to it; it is a cheerful and happy land of the superior beings, into which, as occasion arises, the chosen mortal may venture and return alive, by the special invitation of its prince.

It is very evident that we are in the presence of two overlapping conceptions—an earlier one, representing a country of bliss and contentment; and a later one, in which this mysterious world has lost its original significance as a world of life and happiness, and has become synonymous with a place of death and the shades. The number of times that we meet with the word "*Uffern*" (the Welsh word for "hell") in connection with *Annwfn* is very significant. *Uffern* is derived from the Latin "*infern-a*," and like the ideas of "soul"-existence, of "penance," and of future "punishment," it came in with Latin teachers of Christianity, who grafted imperfectly the notions derived from quite other sources upon the native stock of ideas.²

¹ The Welsh Dictionary gives *Annwfn* as "a bottomless gulf," "an abyss"; "the receptacle of the dead"; "hell." Professor Anwyl considers that it signifies the "Not-world" (*Celtic Religion*, p. 62).

In the *Zeitschrift für Celt. Phil.* I. 29, M. Gaidoz equates *Annwfn* with the Breton *anaoun*, "the souls of the departed"; but he finds it difficult to explain this, because his suggested original *animun* does not exist anywhere (see also *ibid.* iii. 184; and *Annales de Bretagne*, xi. 488).

² I owe the following note to the courtesy of Professor Morris Jones: "*uffern*, Lat. *infern-a*: before the *f*. (= Welsh *ff*.) the *n* was lost and the *i* was rounded, becoming *u*, which in old Welsh was sounded like the French *u*."

Even in those poems to which we have alluded, in which the bright country suffered violence and an attempt was made to take it by force, and where we find it represented consequently as guarded by walls and serpents, and monsters of all sorts, which have to be overcome, the essential characteristics remain, though the idea has been modified. The cauldron with the rim of pearls which would not cook food for a coward—symbol of renewed life and truthfulness; the brindled ox with the broad head-band, or the precious beast with silver-head; the "perfect chair," known to Manawyddan and Pryderi, seated in which neither disease nor old age can touch the occupant; the fire encircled by streams of ocean; the fruitful fountain above it which gives drink sweeter than white wine: all these are, with only the smallest variation in details, the characteristics which we meet with in the Irish Land of Promise, into which Cormac goes. We find them, indeed, with certain modifications, in every story of the Irish world invisible. The names given in Welsh literature to Annwn are also interesting: *Caer Sidi*, the Revolving Castle; *Caer Vedwyd*, the Castle of Revelry; *Caer Golud*, Castle of Riches; *Caer Pedryvan*, the Four-cornered Castle, four times revolving; *Caer Rigor*, the Kingly Castle. These titles, which are perhaps older than *Annwn* or *Uffern*, both of which are found in the poem, do not convey to the mind a place of misery or darkness. Besides, it seems clear that the third and fourth lines of the "Spoiling of *Annwn*" refer to Gwydion's journey thither to recover the swine of Pryderi in the story of *Mâth*, son of *Mathonwy*, and we have already examined the bright conception of *Annwn* in the *Mabinogion*. The lines run thus:

"Stout was the prison of Gweir (*i.e.* Gwydion) in *Caer Sidi*.
Through the spite of Pwyll and Pryderi
No one before him went into it.
The heavy blue chain held the faithful youth,

And before the spoils of Annwn woefully he sings,
Thenceforth till doom he shall remain a bard,
Thrice enough to fill Prydwen (Arthur's ship) we went into it
Except seven, none returned from Caer Sidi."

It is this and similar verses that has given an aspect of gloom to the place; but, if it alludes to Gwydion's unauthorised descent to the south to steal the possessions of Pryderi, as seems obvious, it becomes one of the descriptions of a violent raid for the purpose of carrying off treasure. In the prose tale the Prince gets off safe with the swine, but in the poem he is imprisoned and loses most of his men.

Turning now to Irish literature, we are in presence of a large series of stories relating to the passage of exceptional human beings into the unseen world. There is no thought, so far as I can see, that all mortals will of necessity assemble thither, or that it is a land to be reached through death; it is essentially, and above all things, the land of life, of the Ever-living or Immortal Ones, of the young who will never grow old; not, as I conceive of it, of the dead who will live again, but of beings who cannot, in the human sense, die at all. That is, I do not conceive that the unseen world was generally thought of by the pagan Irish as a place of departed spirits, shades in which they wander, or a Paradise in which they live again, but rather as a dwelling of the Immortals into which by special favour, or, for a special purpose, some single mortals were invited, and whence, like Connla, they may never care to return, or, like Cuchulain, they may stay awhile, and then resume ordinary life; or yet again they may, like Bran or Olsin, return to earth only to die. But as a rule they do return again, while the idea that they attain to the land only by means of death is entirely absent.

The usual belief is that it lies in an island within a lake or beyond the ocean; or again, it is beneath the

waves at the bottom of the sea, the idea of separation by water being essential in most of the tales. Later, when the gods who ruled this mystic realm were conceived of as fallen from their high estate as Lords of the Sky, and were relegated to the *síd* dwellings underground, and, connected in men's minds with the tumuli or ancient burial-places, the idea changed somewhat.

But everywhere, as in Welsh legend, we find the same description of this land as one of unflinching brightness, of inexhaustible joys, where death, disease, and want are alike unknown, and where no man notices the lapse of time. I do not intend to summarise these tales to-night; this has been done for the Pagan tales, or those most entirely Pagan, by Mr. Nutt in his *Voyage of Bran*, and for the Christian voyage tales by Zimmer in his studies on the Brendan Legend.¹ They are, fortunately, by this time pretty well known.

A couple of typical instances will suffice. In Laegh's description of the palace in Magh Mell, as he himself had seen it, he says :

" There is a door toward the west
In the place where the sun goes down,
A stud of pale horses with brilliant manes ;
Another, purple brown ;
At the door towards the east I saw
Three shining purple trees,
From which a flock of birds calls down
Gently to the youths of the royal dun.
There is at the fortress' door a tree,
Pleasant the music that comes therefrom,
A tree of silver ; against it the sun
Shines like unto gold in splendour.
Three hundred men by each noble tree
Of various fruits, are nourished.
There is a well in the princely dwelling,

¹ Keltische Beiträge, *Zeitschrift für Deutsche Alterthum*, vol. xxxiii. p. 128. seq. and 32, 196-334 ; cf. *Zeit. für Vgl. Sprach.*, 28.

Thrice fifty princes with mantles gay
And a brooch of gold, of brightest hue
In each of their radiant mantles.
There is a cask of joyous mead
Distributed to the household.
How much soever may be consumed
It remains ever full and enduring.
A woman abides in this noble house
Above all the women of Erin.
With hair of gold she welcomes us
In her accomplished beauty.
Her speech to the men of every king
Beautiful, wise, and gentle," etc.

Or in Condla of the Golden Hair:

"There is another land
It were not ill for thee to visit it,
I see the bright sun is setting
How far soever it be, before night we shall arrive.
It is the land of joy
Passing the dreams of all men.
There is no one dwelling there
Save noble women and maidens."

The same blissful conceptions are found in every story of the unseen world. The happy, careless nature of the Celt, prone to optimism, and always determined to believe the best rather than to fear the worst, conjured up for himself a radiant land where all that he loved best in life was to be reproduced and multiplied. Everlasting youth, brave men and lovely women, music, drinking, and pastimes, were all to be found there, and as warfare and blood-shedding were essential to happiness in the earthly life, they are at times reproduced in the other world, and the happy mortal is called upon to take part in them. He is tempted away by a fair maiden, usually by means of a wondrous apple of every flavour, and which, however much it was partaken of, never grew less, or by a magic branch that played melodious music, and whose call was irresistible. These features recur in almost every legend of the unseen world. A sort of trance is

usually gone into, but this does not appear to have been essential.¹

We need not linger over these tales. All that is essential to us is to recognise that over them hangs no depressing rule of "Dark Divinities," no gloom of spirit-haunted shades, no thought of death or pain. They are painted with all the powers of brilliant word-painting of which the Irish Gael was such a master, as worlds of joy and of youth, of vital and unending life. They are, in fact, the Paradise of the Gods of Life. It is earth that is in them represented always as "the dark unquiet land," the place where "amid the assemblies of short-lived mortals" man is fated to await his death.

This is the essential distinction of the Pagan dreams. But when we pass to the visions influenced by Christian thought, we are conscious at once of a change of tone. Gradually the joyousness that has been the dominant note of Pagan belief is tuned down into a minor key, the old stories receive into themselves new features, counterbalancing what had hitherto been wholly bright and hopeful, by suggestions of gloom, of suffering, and of despair. At first these suggestions are fitted awkwardly into the old framework, they are rare, and, as it were, out of place; but gradually, as larger portions of the new belief find their way into the old romances, many of the older features become modified, and we finally emerge into an atmosphere wholly controlled by mediæval beliefs introduced through Christian influence. The meeting-point of Pagan and Christian thought is always of deep interest; but I know of no place in custom or literature where there can be traced, step by step, the

¹ It is to be remarked that the most permanent characteristics of the unseen world are those which formed part of the ordinary surroundings of every Irish dwelling of any rank. The pot or cauldron, the apple-tree in which birds sing, the vat of mead or ale, the hearth or fire, the harp giving music, were essentials without which the earthly home would have been imperfect. The transference of these things into his Elysium was natural and inevitable.

gradual absorption of new and fixed doctrinal ideas of outside growth into the older and vaguer, but exquisite imaginings of the native mind, as it can be traced in the Gaelic visions of the Other World. It was impossible to shatter at a blow a form of belief which was rooted in the very nature of the people; it held its place with persistent vitality, and even when, with many slow loiterings by the way, it gradually, and, as it were, reluctantly, fell into the background, it was not without having carried over into the new many beautiful fancies derived from the old, as it likewise absorbed into the old many thoughts (principally, alas, thoughts of gloom and penance and punishment) gathered out of the graver and more awesome conceptions of the Christian monks.

Let me point out, briefly, how this changed idea is introduced. In general, the framework of a voyage is carried on from Pagan times into the semi-Christian visions, but the idea has gradually enlarged from that of a single island in a lake or across the sea, into a long series of islands out on the open boundless ocean, in each of which some new marvel is to be found. Already, in the Voyage of Bran, one of the oldest of the tales, we have the single isle of older times expanded into fifty or "thrice fifty" isles in the ocean to the west of us, and several of these are separately described; but in this voyage the main incidents remain unchanged. It is a lady who beckons, a branch of silver that allures, and the whole aspect is joyous and full of brilliant charm. In the Voyage of Maelduin, in the Voyage of the Sons of O'Corra, of Snedgus and MacRiagla, of St. Columcille's Three Clerics, and in the famous Voyage of St. Brendan, there are a multitude of islands, each preserving some well-defined characteristic differentiating it from all the rest.

The voyage is no longer made in a magic craft, which moves of itself across a magic ocean; it is an actual

craft built of wood or skins, and manned by human oarsmen, and the direction of the voyage is usually westward or north-west, several of the voyages starting from or near Galway or Kerry on the western coast of Ireland.

But the really distinctive feature is that the voyage itself, instead of being undertaken from motives of pleasure or desire, becomes a penance or an expiation for crime. Maelduin goes to discover the murderer of his father, and the adventures of the Sons of O'Corra, of Snedgus and MacRiagla, and of St. Columcille's Clerics, arise out of the commission and the punishment of crime.

Even the Voyage of Brendan, which sprang out of that desire that lay deep in the heart of many a dreaming Celt to find "great rivers and fertile lands" beyond the ocean, is shadowed by the doom of misfortune entailed by exceeding the number of passengers allotted for the voyage—a *motif* that is found in several of the stories, and which, if it is Irish at all, springs from the desire for fixed numbers that pervades Irish literature.

These voyages are, then, penitential journeys, and this fact entirely revolutionises the structure and tone of the tales. The incidents assume a moral aspect, which becomes more and more marked as time goes on, and in their latest evolution the voyage incident entirely drops out, and the whole tale is concerned with the description of the joys of paradise and heaven and the tortures of the lost in hell. Let us trace the way in which this idea enters the tales. In the Voyage of Bran we first find the central idea of the other world shrunk into the special characteristic of a single one out of a number of islands. The Land of Women no longer fills the central place. The palace where the wanderers are entertained, the food of every flavour

which is given to them, the rapid and unperceived lapse of time, the ball of thread with which the travellers are held (which replaces in the later legends the original apple of invitation) are here, as in all the later legends, peculiarities only of one out of the numerous islands which they visit.¹ Here appears for the first time the Isle of Laughter, where the inhabitants give forth incessant gusts of laughter, and on which, when one of Bran's companions lands, he is seized with the same desire, and remains gaping and shaking with mirth for ever.

In the Voyage of Maelduin this Isle of Laughter is balanced by another island called the Isle of Wailing, inhabited by human beings whose bodies and raiments were black. Round their heads were fillets, and they rested never from weeping and wailing. No one who landed on the island ever returned, but began to weep with the rest. Maelduin had to send four of his men, with garments wrapped round their heads and mouths, to bring back by force three who had landed to explore the isle. Two they brought back, but the third remained behind. Here already we begin to feel in the region of the *Divine Comedy*.

In the Voyage of the Sons of O'Corra the *first* island they come to is the Isle of Weeping. This sufficiently indicates the penitential nature of their voyage, which is undertaken to atone for their intended murder of their grandfather and for their numerous crimes; or, in their own words, "to take upon themselves the habit of penitence and religion."

In these two stories appears for the first time the Miller of Hell, but as yet he is a personage whose business it is not to punish men, but to teach them a moral lesson. In his mill are all the choice things of the world, the pleasures and riches of life (*Sons of*

¹ Cf. *Maelduin*, xvii., xxviii.

O'Corra, ch. 62). In *Maelduin* it is all those things that have been begrudged on earth, the treasures about which men have shown themselves covetous and selfish, which are being ground in the mill (ch. xiv.).

We are not yet in the full tide of mediaeval dogmatic belief, but the time is not far off when the miller will no longer grind the goods of this world, but the bodies and souls of men.¹

The same moral intention is seen in *O'Corra* in the man who is condemned to dig perpetually with a spade with a handle of fire, because during his life he had dug his fields on Sunday; and in *Maelduin* in the punishment of the cook who stole and secreted the valuables of the church.²

The Pagan Paradise or Land of Promise seems at first to retain its position in the stories independently of the Christian heaven, but inevitably it becomes in the later tales confused with it, and passes into it. In *Maelduin*, in the *Voyage of Snedgus* and the *Story of Columcille's Clerics*, it is a land that may not be entered, and which is usually guarded by a rampart or revolving wall. In *Maelduin* (xxxii.) we read: "After that they sight another island, and it was not large, a fiery rampart round about it, and that rampart revolved round the island. In the side of the rampart was an open door, and whenever the doorway came in the course of its revolution opposite to where *Maelduin* and his companions were, they could see through it the entire island and all that was in it; its inhabitants also, human beings, beautiful, very many, wearing embroidered garments, and feasting with golden vessels in their

¹The same gradual transference from a moral and allegorical to an actual state is shown in an interesting manner in comparing the *Vision of Furcius* (Bede, *Ecel. Hist.* Bk. iii. c. 19), in which the fires of hell are symbolic, with the grim reality of the later visions.

²*Voyage of Maelduin*, *Rev. Celt.* vols. ix, x; *Voyage of the Sons of O'Corra*, *ibid.* vol. xiv. 27-63, both edited by Whitley Stokes.

hands. And the wanderers heard their drinking-songs. A long time they pondered that marvel, for it seemed delightful to them."¹

In the Irish Voyage of Brendan this island still remains apart from Paradise, but the inhabitants have become Christian. "On a certain day when they were prosperously on the sea, rowing, they beheld a certain beautiful island, and it was lofty. Howbeit they found no easy harbour or port of entrance. For twelve days they continued going round it, and during all that space they were unable to land upon it. Howbeit they heard men's voices therein praising the Lord, and they beheld a church therein, high, famous, delightful." They were not permitted to land on the island, but from above a waxed tablet was thrown down to them, which bid them spend no more toil in trying to enter that island, for it was not the land they sought, and they could never come therein; for it was written in the Scriptures, "*Mansiones Dei multae sunt.*"²

In later times, as Zimmer points out, the *Tir tairngiri*, or Land of Promise, becomes identified with Canaan, or the promised land of the Jews, and in the Irish commentaries on certain verses in the Epistles to the Hebrews and Corinthians, these passages are so explained by the commentators. It is the promised land of the living (*tíre tairngiri innambéa*), thus identifying it exactly with the Land of the Living (*tír beo*) of *Echtra Condla*.

In the Irish version of the Voyage of St. Brendan, that wondrous tale which caught the imagination of the whole of mediaeval Europe, there is strangely mingled in the young adventurer's mind the longing for an

¹ Cf. in the Voyage of Snedgus and MacRiagla (ed. Whitley Stokes, *Rev. Celt.* vol. ix.) the Isle of Gaelic men and women, who sing to them; also the revolving rampart of Cúroí's fort in the Feast of Bricriu (ed. G. Henderson for the Irish Texts Society, 1899, pp. 102-3).

² In Snedgus and MacRiagla, and in Columcille's Clerics a leaf is sent down.

unknown earthly country over-seas and a vision of the Paradise of his theology. "The love of the Lord grew exceedingly in his heart, and he desired to leave his land and country, his parents and his fatherland, and he urgently besought the Lord to give him a land secret, hidden, secure, delightful, separate from men. Now, after he had slept that night he heard the voice of an angel, who said to him, 'Arise, O Brenainn, for God hath given thee what thou soughtest, even the Land of Promise.'"¹ Yet it was not till fourteen years or more were past, and at the close of his second voyage, that he at length reached that hidden land, although it was during his first voyage that he had his grotesquely horrible glimpse into Hell.

It is evident that these later voyages which we have been considering have united in their structure two ideas: that of the early voyage of pure adventure and that of the trial by ordeal, in which, as a test of crime and also as its punishment, a suspected man was cast adrift on the ocean without oars or rudder, often without food or drink, to drift whithersoever the winds or waves might carry him.²

But it soon became apparent to the mediaeval preacher that he had in these stories a unique opportunity of impressing the minds and imaginations of his people with his favourite theme "the pains and punishments of hell and the bane of doomsday." All that was necessary was slightly to change the object of the voyage and to add a new island wherein the horrors of hell were revealed, or, if he were more pitiful and imaginative, of two islands where hell and heaven could

¹ *Lives of the Saints from the Book of Lismore*, ed. by Whitley Stokes, 355-4, p. 252.

² Cf. *Life of St. Patrick*, by Muirchu Macen Mactheni, in *Tripartite Life*, ed. Whitley Stokes, vol. ii. p. 288; *English Chronicle*, 891 A.D.; *Voyage of Maelduin*, *Rev. Celt.* ix.; *Voyage of the Sons of O'Corra*.

both be entered in turn. In the *Voyage of the Sons of O'Corra* this purpose is faintly shadowed, the travellers pass into the realm of spirits and behold the living and the dead; but in the Irish *Voyage of Brendan*, which is a homily, and hence an opportunity for edification not to be missed, a long description of hell couched in the adjectival language of the homilies is dragged uncomfortably in amid native dreams of a yellow-haired maiden floating on the waves, of the little bird that became a monstrous sea-cat, and other reminiscences of fancies and legends of an earlier time. But even in Ireland the Legend of Brendan is a composite one.

As the chief object of such stories was to point a moral and warn a hardened race by a description of the terrors of hell, the framework of a voyage was by degrees seen to be no longer necessary; it had become a mere superfluous adjunct. And so there arose in Ireland, or out of the imagination of Irish monks, a long series of Visions, in which the soul, usually parted from the body in trance or cataleptic sleep, wanders into realms unknown and sees revelations of heaven and hell. Into these visions we do not enter. There is one of them only that retains and carries into the new tradition something of the radiant fancy, the hopeful tenderness, of the beautiful native Gaelic tales. It is called the *Vision of Adamnan*,¹ and though, as in all the others, we are here conducted through heaven and hell, there is no appeal to that horror and disgust which is called up by the hideous and often grotesque scenes of the later visions, such as those of the *Tidings of Doomsday*, of Owain Myles and Tundale, and of the Spanish prince Ramon.

Its resemblance to the *Divine Comedy* of Dante is remarkable, the circles of ascent to heaven, the angelic watchers, the graduation of the punishments and their

¹ Ed. by Whitley Stokes, Simla, 1870.

appropriateness to the crimes committed, all foreshadowing the work of the Italian seer.

But the predominant note of the *Tidings of Doomsday* and of the host of visions that flooded and shadowed Europe during the middle ages, and many of which centred round the spot known as "St. Patrick's Purgatory" on Lough Derg in Donegal, is one of terror. A positive zest is evinced by the writers in conjuring up and emphasising scenes horrible in their grim detail of corporeal or spiritual tortures. The mind shudders at the lengthened description of pains from which there is no hope of release for the sufferers and no moral alleviation to be won. Here, indeed, we find fully displayed that belief in an after-death or life of souls, that gloomy sense of penitence, sin, and punishment, of which the pagan literature knew little and which the pagan Gael could in no such sense have understood. But it is not a native note, it is introduced from outside, though exaggerated and grown grotesque in the Irish mediaeval imagination. If we want the native note of the Gaelic mind dwelling on the unseen, we shall find it in such a passage as this, incorporated into a semi-Christian vision :

"They now descry a pleasant land with a good coast, and at sight of it they grow cheerful and of good courage. They row close up to it and find a fine green-bottomed estuary with sandy depths clear as a spring or like the shining whiteness of pure silver; salmon of varied hue, and brilliant in choice shades of crimson-red; delicate woods with empurpled tree tops fringing the delightful streams of this new land. 'A beauteous land is this, young men,' said Teigue: 'and happy would he be whose lot in life were cast within it! A lovely and a fruitful land is this to which we come!' Then they hauled up the currach on the beach and set out to view the country. And for all they had

suffered of cold, of strain on their endurance, of foul weather and tempest, yet neither for fire or for meat, did they on reaching that coast feel any need at all; the perfume of that region's fragrant crimsoned branches being for food and for all their needs sufficient for them. Through the nearest part of the forest they take their way and come upon an orchard full of apple-trees, red-laden, with leafy oaks and yellow-clustered hazels. They pass from thence and happen on a wood; round purple grapes hung from it, excellent of scent and perfume and each one bigger than a human head. Birds beautiful and brilliant were feasting on those grapes; birds strange and of unknown kind, white, with scarlet heads and golden beaks. And as they fed, they warbled music melodious and supreme, listening to which men sick and wounded sore would fall asleep. And as they pass across the wide smooth plain, with flowering clover all bedewed with honey, Teigue would chant this lay: 'Sweet to my fancy, as I listen, the strains of that sweet melody of birds.'¹

ELEANOR HULL.

¹ "Teigue, son of Cian," *Silva Gaelica*, ed. by Standish H. O'Grady, vol. ii. p. 389.

THE NATIVE TRIBES OF SOUTH-EAST AUSTRALIA.

BY A. W. HOWITT, D.SC.

I HAVE read with some interest, and at times with a little surprise, the contribution to *Folk-Lore* of September last by Mr. N. W. Thomas, entitled "Dr. Howitt's Defence of Group-Marriage."

Certain parts require notice, and I shall take them *seriatim* so far as can conveniently be done.

I must consider, in the first place, an important passage at pp. 294-5, which is as follows:

"In his work on the tribes of South-east Australia, Dr. Howitt asserts in the most unqualified manner (pp. 177-179, N.T.S.E.A.) that a woman must enter into the *tippa-malku* relation before she can receive a *pirrauru* or accessory spouse."

This is correctly quoted, with the exception that the expression "accessory spouse" belongs to Mr. Thomas.

There is, however, another paragraph at page 182 of my *Native Tribes*, which runs as follows: "But commonly it is not merely two pairs of *pirrauru* who are allotted to each other, but the whole of the marriageable or married people, even those who are already *pirraurus*, are re-allotted, the *kandri* ceremony being performed for batches of them at the same time."

These two statements are inconsistent with each other. A girl becomes marriageable after she has been initiated to womanhood at the *Wilpadrina* ceremony, and may then

be allotted as a *pirrauru*, whether she be in the relation of *tippa-malku* or not.

It is therefore incorrect where I say, as Mr. Thomas points out, "that a woman must enter the *tippa-malku* relation before she can receive a *pirrauru*."

In the preparation of my work, which extended over several years, a number of draughts were made, each one being altered as I obtained further information. There were four or five of these, and in the preparation of the latest for the press, I added the second of the above-quoted passages, as the final result of enquiries made to clear up doubts which I had formed as to the correctness of the earlier information. I intended to bring the statements about *tippa-malku* into accord with the new facts, but I found on seeing the work in print that this had not been done, unfortunately leaving the very misleading statement which Mr. Thomas has quoted.

In replying to Mr. Lang, I had the later paragraph in mind, and also another matter, which I now avail myself of this opportunity to place in a more satisfactory position.

I have always experienced a great difficulty, owing to the aboriginal conception of relationship being on a totally different plane to ours, in giving such an explanation of the Dieri marriages as would be a correct statement of fact and at the same time be easily mastered by my readers.

Many years ago, when I wrote an account of the *Dieri and Kindred Tribes*, I used the term *noa* as the equivalent of that which I now term *pirrauru*, and this was correct because, taking Diagram 1. for my illustration, the man 1 and the woman 6 are still *noa* while being also *pirrauru* by the *kandri* ceremony. At the same time the man 1 is also the *noa* of the woman 5, and obtained her as his wife by *tippa-malku*.

I therefore distinguished between the position of the woman 5 by speaking of her as the "specialised *noa*."

When I ascertained that the "specialised *noa*" became so by being made *tippa-malku*, I found it convenient to use that term, and spoke of the *tippa-malku* marriage as distinguished from the *pirrauru* marriage.

But in doing this I find that I have pushed the use of the former term too far, for, properly speaking, it only relates to "betrothal," for instance, of a boy and girl who are *noa* to each other. It will be necessary therefore to distinguish, as I regret that I have not sufficiently done, between "betrothal" and the "gift" of a woman, for instance, for some great service rendered, such as holding up the corpse at the funeral ceremony.

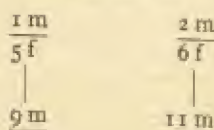
When the opportunity presents itself, I propose to so far amend my *Native Tribes* by correcting errors which I regret to find.

Mr. Thomas says at page 294, "The classificatory system, however, is not more closely connected with the *pirrauru* system than with *tippa-malku* marriage, and the validity of Dr. Howitt's identification of the *pirrauru* relation with the kind of group-marriage for whose former existence he argues may justly be challenged."

To show in what manner the classificatory system is, in fact, closely connected with *pirrauru*, I must enter into details which will require a diagram to make them clear.

That the diagram may be founded on fact, I shall have recourse to the *Table of Dieri Marriages and Descents* which faces page 159 of my *Native Tribes*. I take as an illustration the men 1 and 2, with their respective wives 5 and 6 and sons 9 and 11:

DIAGRAM I.



The men 1 and 2 were brothers, and each had a wife by betrothal (*tippa-malku*). I assume that, at some ceremony, 5 and 2, and 6 and 1, became *pirrauru*, and further, that in accordance with the common practice they lived in a family of four. (*Native Tribes*, p. 181.) I have always found difficulty in explaining the relationships which arise out of this double marriage, and I shall therefore use the terms husband and wife where a man and a woman have been allotted to each other, either by betrothal (*tippa-malku*), gift, or by the *kandri* ceremony as *pirrauru*.

Thus 1 is the husband of 5, but he is also the husband of 6, and 2 is likewise the husband of 6 and 5. The men 1 and 2 are therefore husbands in common of the women 5 and 6.

We may now go a step further. The man 9 is the son of the woman 5, but he has two fathers, who are the "group-husbands" of his mother. Now, to use Mr. Thomas's term, we have a physiological fact as to the fatherhood of either or both of these men. They are both properly regarded as the *ngaperi* of both 9 and 11, and the only distinction which is made, so far as I know, is that the man 1 is the *ngaperi*, and the man 2 is the *ngaperi-waka* of 9. The same considerations will show that the men 2 and 1 are the fathers in common of the man 11.

The filial relations naturally follow from the marital and parental relations. Thus the men 9 and 11 are the sons (*ngatamura*) of both 1 and 2, and while 5 and 6 are the "own" mothers of 9 and 11 respectively, they stand in the relation of *ngandri* to 11 and 9. Moreover, since 9 and 11 have the same fathers, they are necessarily brothers.

Here we may see in actual existence the relationships which justify the observation which I have made in my *Native Tribes* (p. 162), that all the children of two or

more brothers, or of two or more sisters, are in the relation of brother and sister to each other. This is also the case in tribes which have individual marriage, as well as in those who have marriage in the *pirrauru* manner.

I have just spoken of a woman being in the relation of mother to her sister's son, and I think that this may be likened to our term "step-mother," with this difference, that with us the "mother" and the "step-mother" cannot each be the wife of a man at the same time, while with the Dieri under the *pirrauru* marriage that is the case.

I think that I have now shown how the terms husband and wife, father and mother, son and brother, all arise out of the *pirrauru* family, and that the native terms include the group and also the individual to whom alone we apply our terms, for instance, father and son.

If I have not misunderstood the passage which I have quoted, Mr. Thomas means that *tippa-malku* has nothing to do with the classificatory system. That is so, and the reason seems to me quite clear. As I have said before, "betrothal," for that is the essence of *tippa-malku*, is an innovation on the *pirrauru* group-right, indeed may be the innovation which ultimately brought about the system of individual marriage in the other Australian tribes.

It is not out of place here to point out that *tippa-malku* is not a classificatory term, but defines the relation between two individuals.

I find at page 296 the following passage: "The group marriage, whose prior existence is asserted by Dr. Howitt, not only for the whole of Australia, but also for all countries in which the classificatory system is in use, cannot with any propriety be termed marriage at all; its proper name is 'modified promiscuity.'" According to this view all the people who stood in the *noa* relation to each other were *de jure* and *de facto* husbands and

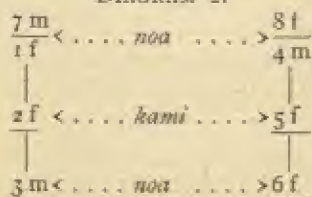
wives. At the present day *noa* undoubtedly means no more than "marriageable." If Mr. Thomas reads the term "group-marriage" in the paragraph at page 189 as referring to a period of sexual license, which would be properly termed "modified promiscuity," it must be considered to have been prior to the *noa* relationship, and consequently there could not have been people who stood in the relation of *noa* to each other. Therefore Mr. Thomas's sentence is quite beside the mark. Throughout my paper I spoke of *pirrauru* as "group-marriage."

Mr. Thomas's remark makes it again necessary to refer to that relation. The *noa* system is based on the fact that whenever a child is born it becomes one of a group—which is male if the child is a boy, or female if a girl. These two groups are collectively and individually *noa* to each other, or, as Mr. Thomas in one place puts it, "marriageable."

If the child is a boy, then his *noa* group consists of himself and all his own and tribal brothers; such is also the analogous case of a girl, her group being composed of her own and tribal sisters.

The tribe is made up of such *noa* groups, and in tracing out the successive descents it becomes evident that the relations *noa* and *kami* alternate. A diagram will show how the *noa* and *kami* rule works out. It is impossible to form any idea of the numerical strength of such a group, for it must be remembered that intertribal marriages took place, and that therefore a *noa* group might find some of its members in one of the neighbouring tribes.

DIAGRAM 2.



1, 2, 3 are the grandmother, mother, and the grandson; 4 is the brother of 1, 5 his daughter, and 6 his granddaughter. The man 7 is the husband of 1, 8 is the wife of 4, and it must be added that 7 and 8 are brother and sister, as are also 4 and 1.

The diagram therefore shows the alternations of the *noa* and *kami* relations. It also shows that the proper wife of the man 3 must be a woman who is his mother's, mother's, brother's, daughter's daughter,—that is, the woman 6; or, what is the same thing, his mother's, father's, sister's, daughter's daughter, who is the woman 6.

This shows that no one can, by any possibility, become the husband or wife of any other person than a member of the *noa* group which is complementary to his or hers.

I may now say, once for all, that the careful consideration which I have given to the evidence of the terms of relationship of the tribes of South-east Australia, during the past two years, has brought me to the definite opinion which I expressed in the communication to *Folk-Lore*, and which Mr. Thomas has now criticised.

I now address myself to the latter part of the extract which I am considering.

I consider the *noa* relationship as having restricted the range of an earlier and wider license, to the present limits of the *pirrauru* marriage. As I see it, the *noa* relationship was one of the earlier restrictions on marriage, the stages of which I enumerated in my *Native Tribes*, at page 282. All of those restrictions have, as I see it, had in view the prevention of marriage between those who, to use the language of the present Australians, were held to be of "too near flesh."

It is fortunate that there are, even now, traces of the manner in which the *noa* system has been developed in that direction.

The subjoined diagrams show the *nupa* relation of the Urabunna and the *noa* relation of the Dieri:

DIAGRAM 3.

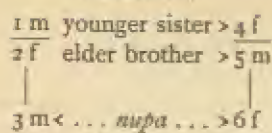
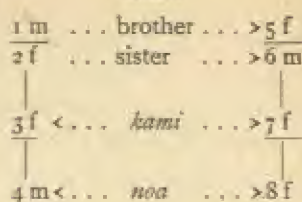
Urabunna.

DIAGRAM 4.

Dieri.

I take the Urabunna first. 1 and 2 are husband and wife, so are 5 and 4; 4 is the younger sister of 1; 5 is the elder brother of 2; 3 is the son of 1 and 2, and 6 is the daughter of 4 and 5; 3 and 6 are in the relation of *nupa*, and therefore marriageable.

Now the Urabunna marriage rule may be thus stated. The proper wife of the man 3 is his mother's elder brother's daughter; or, what is the same thing, his father's younger sister's daughter. In each case this is the woman 6.

The Dieri rule is defined by the Diagram 4. The man 1 and the woman 2 are husband and wife; so are 5 and 6; 1 is the brother (elder or younger) of 5, and 2 is the sister (elder or younger) of 6; 3 is the daughter of 1 and 2, so is 7 of 5 and 6; but they are not marriageable with their respective brothers, being in the *kami* relation, which always denotes that disability; their children, however, stand in the *noa* relation, which we know may be rendered as "marriageable." These two tribes, it may be remembered, are located on the opposite sides of Lake Eyre, and their boundaries meet at its southern end.

So far as marriage is concerned, *nupa* and *noa* are evidently analogous, but it is the difference between them to which I now invite attention.

The Urabunna rule is certainly the earlier form of this restriction on a former wider range of marriage, for the

Dieri rule incapacitates those who under the other rule would be eligible, and only permits marriage between their children.

The prohibition of the Dieri rule accords in principle with all those other similar limitations which I have already referred to. I will only add that whenever the *noa* relation of the Dieri was established, it must have been to restrict a rule like that of the Urabunna.

There is a passage at page 296 which seems to show that Mr. Thomas has not mastered the facts of the *noa* relation or of the *pirrauru* relation which follows it. He says: "The classificatory system . . . is essentially a legal system; the terms which a boy applies to his father . . . he also applies to a number of other men, any of whom was eligible to marry his mother. . . ."

I have pointed out how, by the *pirrauru* marriage, certain of the husband's brothers become also the fathers of his wife's children. I consider *pirrauru* to be a survival from a period of wider license, having been restricted by the *noa* relationship.

On this view the application of the term *ngaperi* to the other brothers who have not become *pirrauru*, appears to be a vestigiary survival of a term which once denoted a fact; and this would be analogous to the application of the Kurnai term *breppa-mungan*, but with this difference, that while the Dieri term must be held to date back to a time anterior to the establishment of *pirrauru*, the Kurnai term, as I see it, would point back to a period when the Kurnai ancestors had a system of marriage like that of *pirrauru*.

I find at page 297 the following passage:

" . . . Dr. Howitt asserts a correspondence in meaning and use between *pirrauru* (Dieri) and *maian-bra* (Kurnai). . . . But in point of fact no such correspondence exists. *Maian-bra* corresponds not to *pirrauru* but to *noa*; they do not imply sexual relations between

the parties who apply these terms to each other; and they do not mean that any ceremony has been performed to constitute the relationship between the man and the woman."

This is rather a strong statement, but an assertion is not evidence. I will now explain what the facts really are which Mr. Thomas has apparently misunderstood or not taken into account.

The term *noa* attaches to a Dieri individual at birth and is not acquired, so that a man and his wife were *noa* to each other from birth, and remained so till death. The *noa* relationship did not exist in the Kurnai tribe, but what I consider as its equivalent was provided by the exogamous intermarrying local groups. The terms *bra* and *maian* cannot therefore be compared with *noa*.

As a simple matter of fact, the terms *bra* and *maian* are not acquired till after marriage, and therefore, as they arise after marriage, they necessarily imply sexual relations between the husband and wife.

In this tribe the "marriage ceremony," which Mr. Thomas appears to consider necessary, was replaced by the custom of elopement, which, as I have described in my *Native Tribes*, was at times brought about by the *Bunjil-Yenjin* "ceremony."

I think that Mr. Thomas must have made a slip at page 298, where he says as follows, quoting from me: "Marriage between them as . . . *pirrauru* is group-marriage (*i.e.* polygamy), and is defined by the terms of relationship. Such being the case, these must have originated when group-marriage (*i.e.* modified promiscuity) existed. These statements will not bear examination."

I think that Mr. Thomas makes rather a rash statement here, in defining *pirrauru* as "polygamy" and then speaking of group-marriage as "modified promiscuity," because in the next paragraph he says that "to use the term 'group-marriage' of *pirrauru* is confusing."

I used the term group-marriage, as I have before done as a synonym for *pirrauru*, in contrast to the individual marriage of other tribes.

I do not understand what Mr. Thomas means by the expressions: "*pirrauru* is (1) not a necessary relation in any single case; (2) is entered upon by a definite ceremony; (3) is entered upon by individuals no more and no less than the *tippa-malku* relation; and (4) is for the woman, so far as we know, subsequent to *tippa-malku*."

My reply to this is: (1) It is a necessary relation, because after the *kandri* ceremony those who are made *pirrauru* thereby remain so permanently, and necessarily so when the allocation is made by the elders; (3) The man 1 in Diagram 1 and the woman 5 were made *tippa-malku*, but neither 1 nor 5 could be again "betrothed." But although a man was made *pirrauru* with a woman, this did not prevent either of them being re-allotted whenever pairs of *pirrauru* were again allocated either by the consent of parties, or by the elders. This shows I think that Mr. Thomas has not altogether mastered the evidence as to *tippa-malku* and *pirrauru*; (4) I have already dealt with the unfortunate oversight, which I much regret, as it has been the cause of misunderstanding by Mr. Thomas, and possibly by others.

Mr. Thomas quotes my remarks at page 298, that the fraternal terms of the Kurnai are "far wider than those of the Dieri and appear to point to a time prior to the making of those restrictions which necessitated the use of (different) terms to distinguish between a man's own children and those of his sister."

Mr. Thomas then asks why "Dr. Howitt refuses to draw the appropriate conclusion from the fraternal terms"?

My answer is that I always hesitate to come to a

final conclusion upon an important question until I am satisfied that the evidence does indeed justify it. This was the case as to a possible early period of universal promiscuity, but since the publication of my *Native Tribes*, and in consequence of the remarkable criticisms and conclusions in Mr. Lang's *Secret of the Totem*, I have again gone into the whole of the evidence before me, and have come to the deliberate conclusion that it points to a period of wider license anterior to the establishment of the *noa* relation, and that this again must have followed a period of promiscuity.

As to the "Undivided Commune" which Mr. Thomas mentions, I incline to place it, perhaps, near the time when the "reformatory movement" of the *noa* relationship was brought about.

This is all that I have to say; because when one attempts to define what may have been the social conditions at a period, humanly speaking, so distant, the results cannot be better than "guess-work."

Mr. Thomas asks several questions at page 300: (1) "Has Dr. Howitt or any one else ever produced any direct evidence that people in the *noa* relation were ever *de facto* and *de jure* in the position of husband and wife to each other in any way in which they are not in the present time?"

I certainly have not, because I well know what the rights and restrictions of the *noa* relationship are. Also because such social conditions would postulate a period anterior to the existence of the *noa* relationship.

(2) "Has Dr. Howitt or any one else ever replied to any of the objections¹ which have been urged against the group-marriage theory?"

Assuming that, by the "group-marriage theory," Mr. Thomas means the *pirrauru* system, which I have all

¹ Mr. Thomas has the following foot-note: "Lang, *Secret of the Totem*, pp. 38-39."

along in my communication to *Folk-Lore* also termed group-marriage, then I say that I have most fully considered all the objections taken by Mr. Lang, in his work and also some therein, which Mr. Lang says were suggested by Mr. Thomas. My reply to Mr. Lang has been for some time with the Anthropological Institute, and will, I assume, appear in due course. Meanwhile, the present paper may be taken as an instalment of my views. Mr. Thomas at page 301 says: "... In the Lake Eyre tribes alone does a name exist for polygamy; all the other tribes cited by Dr. Howitt have terms corresponding to *noa*; none has anything corresponding to *pirrauru*, *dilpa-malli*, and *piraungaru*. That alone is conclusive evidence of differential evolution among the Lake Eyre tribes. . . ."

I again note that Mr. Thomas uses the term "polygamy," and the context seems to require that it really means *pirrauru*. At page 299 he says, and correctly: "In a sense of course the people standing in the relation of *pirrauru* are a group; the relationship is a combination of polyandry and polygyny." I think that in this passage Mr. Thomas replies to some of his strictures on me.

It is not a fact that all the tribes quoted by me have terms corresponding to *noa*, for the Kurnai, for instance, have terms which do not. I think that Mr. Thomas has overlooked my argument, that all the tribes which now have individual marriage, had at one time a marriage similar to *pirrauru*, and that having passed out of it, they yet retain those terms which denote it. It would surely be a very remarkable thing if they still retained those other terms which Mr. Thomas cites, no longer having that which they denote. The "*pirrauru*" stage having passed away, the analogous terms in their languages, to those given by Mr. Thomas, would be no longer used. It is a fortunate circumstance that the

terms which denote the relations of *pirrauru* still survive in the tribes which have now individual marriage.

Mr. Thomas concludes the passage, which I have now considered, as follows: "If the '*Kandri* ceremony' occurs elsewhere, it is unfortunate that Dr. Howitt has not discovered it."

The *Kandri* ceremony announces the "betrothal," as I call it, of a male and a female *noa*, no more and no less. If Mr. Thomas will refer to page 219 of my *Native Tribes*, he will find just such a ceremony described in the Kuinmurbura coast-tribe of Queensland. In this tribe the relation of *durki* is the equivalent of *noa*. As betrothal is universal in the tribes of South-east Australia, other instances of such ceremonies can be found.

In speaking of the aboriginal terms at page 184 of my communication to *Folk-Lore*, I use the expression "the universal conditions of the Australian tribes." This, as I perceive, from the acute criticism by Mr. Thomas (p. 302), should have had the restriction "excepting the Arunta" to follow the words "Australian tribes." This correction will cover some of the following criticism:

"If Dr. Howitt asserts physiological fatherhood to be the underlying idea, does he assert the same of the term which includes 'mother' in our sense?" (p. 302).

I say "yes," as to the "own" mother. The application of the term to the "mother's sister" is explained by the *pirrauru* case, where, as I have pointed out, she stands in the position of "mother," because she is the wife of the child's father. This seems to me to be analogous to the application by us of the term step-mother, to a man's second wife. No Australian savage ever for a moment thinks, or says, as Mr. Lang puts it,¹ that such a "woman, whom he calls mother, would . . . have collaborated in giving birth to him."

¹ *Secret of the Totem*, p. 46.

I do not know whether I quite understand Mr. Thomas when he asks whether I will "admit that group-motherhood as well as group-marriage existed"? Following from what I have just said, I do not see any objection to the term "group-motherhood" to include the "actual mother and all her sisters, who are together the group-wives of the father of a child."

This I think will give my reply to a further elaboration of the same idea of a "group-mother" analogous to that of a "group-father" at page 303.

Referring to the Dieri term *ngaperi*, Mr. Thomas says at p. 303 as follows " . . . *Ngaperi* clearly does not mean father in our sense, but refers to status in the family, if Dr. Howitt's statement is correct. It seems, however, that *ngaperi* is applied to all the brothers, own or tribal, of the primary spouse; if this is so, the term *ngaperi-waka* has nothing to do with the *pirrauru* relationship at all. . . . Out of Dr. Howitt's own mouth I am able to quote words which show that *ngaperi* and *ngaperi-waka* do not refer to physical fatherhood."

The essence of this criticism is in the last lines, and I remember a case in point where a Dieri woman was asked who was the father of one of her children, to which she replied "my *noas*," this term being used in the sense of husbands. Now, assuming her to be the woman 5 in Diagram 1, then the man 1 would be the *ngaperi* and the man 2 the *ngaperi-waka*. To these may be added other "*pirrauru*-husbands" whom she acquired at the times when the people were re-allotted in batches by the *kandri* ceremony. All those "husbands" are the "*noas*."

I think that this shows that the terms *ngaperi* and *ngaperi-waka* both refer to physical fatherhood, and that the *ngaperi-waka* has something to do with *pirrauru* marriage.

The fact that all the brothers of the man who is the

husband of a certain woman are also included in the term *ngaperi* has another explanation to that given by Mr. Thomas. I have dealt with those who are actually husbands, but there remain those who are nominally so. According to my view, as I have already said, that the *noa* relationship is a restriction upon a former wider range of license, the *kandri* ceremony is a restriction of the range of license, within the *noa* group, and creates the *pirrauru* group. This leaves a residuum of men and women, who at a former period would have exercised a sexual license now denied to them. But the term which denoted the group-fatherhood of the men still survives, with no more actual foundation than there is in the term *breppa-mungan* of the Kurnai, when applied to the brothers, own and tribal, of the *mungan*, that is the individual husband, who is the *bra*.

Mr. Thomas then continues his criticism. I have carefully read and endeavoured to arrive at the actual meaning of his further remarks. They amount, so far as I understand them, to a charge against me of "making two cases parallel, though in one of them the terms refer to the status within the family, both *ngaperi* being possible fathers, whereas in the other case the difference in terminology means that the *mungan* is the husband of the child's mother, while the *breppa-mungan* is merely a man of the tribal status who has no marital rights over the mother.

Mr. Thomas then says: "Thus Dr. Howitt has been guilty of a grave confusion in his statement of the case against Mr. Lang's view."

What I really did say is, I think, a complete reply to Mr. Thomas's charge. I quote from page 184 of my paper:

"Had he (*i.e.* Tulaba) been a Dieri, the actual *tippa-malku* husband of his mother would be his *ngaperi*, but her *pirrauru* husband would be his *ngaperi-waka* or "little father."

"In the Dieri case we have the actual group-marriage with appropriate terms, while with the Kurnai there are only the vestigiary relationships, indicating the former conditions of marriage."

What I then said briefly, I have now explained in detail.

There is another passage, at page 305, in which Mr. Thomas says: "Dr. Howitt asks Mr. Lang to look at the Dieri terms, and says 'he will see their present meaning and that they are applied . . . to individuals . . . living under *pirrauru*.' If this statement were correct, the Dieri would be living, not under *pirrauru*, but under modified promiscuity; for this passage clearly suggests that all who are *noa* are also *pirrauru*. What Dr. Howitt actually means, however, is that some people who are *noa* are also *pirrauru*—a very different thing."

I must take this passage in parts, to avoid confusion:

(1) I have now shown what the actual meaning of the Dieri terms are, and that they are applied to persons living under *pirrauru*.

(2) This statement does not suggest to me anything else, and I am unable to see what Mr. Thomas says is the meaning. I therefore attribute this either to the want of "power of interpretation" which Mr. Thomas imputes to me, or perhaps to a "power of misinterpretation" which I think I might, with equal justice, assign to him.

(3) As to this, all that I have to say is that, in the passage referred to, I did not mean anything of the kind.

It will be well to further amplify my remarks at page 177 of my contribution to *Folk-Lore*, where I show that the terms *noa* and *pirrauru* include husband, husband's brother, and (female speaking) sister's husband; wife, wife's sister, and (male speaking) brother's wife. Referring to Diagram 1, the people 1, 2, 5, 6 are all in the *noa* relation. The term *pirrauru* includes 1 and 6, and 2 and 5; therefore, in this case it means "husband" and

"wife." Since 1 and 2 are brothers, and as 1 is the *pirrauru* of 6, it also includes "husband's brother." As 5 and 2 are *pirrauru*, and as 2 is the husband of 6, it also includes (female speaking) "sister's husband."

Mr. Thomas evidently does not realise the result of the *noa* relation, combined with *pirrauru*.

Now, when I turn to the Kurnai terms, and use the same diagram, I find this: 1 and 2 are members of an exogamous local group who married two women, 5 and 6, who belonged to one of the complementary local groups. Here we have the analogue of the Dieri *noa* relation transferred among the Kurnai from the extinct social organisation to the dominant local organisation.

Using *bra-maian* as a convenient term for husband and wife, the man 1 and the woman 5, and the man 2 and the woman 6 became *bra-maian*, and in consequence 1 became the *breppa-bra* of 6, and 2 of 5, according to the Kurnai terminology.

We have here just the relations created by the *pirrauru* marriage, but with this difference, that with the Kurnai 1 and 5, and 2 and 6 were husband and wife, while 1 and 6 and 2 and 5 were merely so nominally.

Of this I again say that the only satisfactory explanation, to me, is that, as I said before, "while in the Dieri tribe the terms of relationship denote actual facts, as regards *pirrauru* marriage, they are in the Kurnai tribe mere survivals in the terminology of relationships.

At page 305 Mr. Thomas says: ". . . Up to the present time Dr. Howitt has not even produced a *pirrauru*-practising tribe outside the Dieri nation."

I assume that Mr. Thomas quotes "Dieri nation" from Messrs. Spencer and Gillen's *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, and I shall deal with this matter in that belief.

Higher up on the course of Cooper's Creek there is the Yantruwunta tribe, who, when I saw them in 1861-2,

certainly had the equivalent of *pirrauru*, but I did not then understand the meaning of it. Some 120 miles still further up the river there was the Kurnandaburi tribe who practised *pirrauru* under the name of *dilpa-malli*. This Mr. Thomas has omitted to mention. The tribes on the Barcoo between the Yantruwunta and the Kurnandaburi were, so far as my information goes, of the same organisation in two classes, which were the equivalents of the Yantruwunta, Kulpuru, and Tinawa, which again are the equivalents of the Dieri, Karáru, and Matteri. South-eastward of the Kurnandaburi there was the same organisation, certainly as far as the Wilson River, and probably beyond the Bulloo River, to where tribes would be met with, organised in the two classes, Mukwara and Kilpara, with individual marriage.

Southwards from the Dieri, the class names Kararu and Matteri extended through the Mardala and Parnkalla tribes as far as Port Lincoln, and thence westward to Fowler's Bay.

From the few facts recorded by the Rev. C. W. Schürmann, the opinion is justified, and even accepted by Mr. Lang, that *pirrauru* existed in the Parnkalla under the name of *Kartele*.

This gives a range of tribes, in which probably there was the *pirrauru* system of marriage, for 850 miles from Oodnadatta, the approximate northern boundary of the Urabunna, to the eastern boundary of the Dieri, or that of the Mardala, say immediately between the Flinders Range and the Barrier Range, where tribes of the Mukwara and Kilpara organisations would be met with.

I am satisfied that the equivalent of the Dieri *pirrauru* extended over this great area of some 500,000 square miles.

Had I realised in the early days of my investigations the extreme importance which would attach to the evidence of this organisation and state of marriage, I

should be now in the position of satisfying others, instead of, perhaps, only satisfying myself. Unfortunately, it is probably too late, although there are some outlying tribes who, I think, may still be available for my investigations.

Mr. Thomas briefly summarises what he conceives to be my points, with his own comments.

These I shall now consider:

(1) It is well that the term "group-marriage" should be definitely settled. It seems to be a bogey both to Mr. Lang and Mr. Thomas, and to be the ground for the question which Mr. Lang asks at page 53 of his *Secret of the Totem*: "Will anyone say, originally all *Noa* people were actual husbands and wives to each other?" I think that Mr. Thomas has asked very much the same question now. I have used the term as a synonym for *pirrauru*, but I shall probably in future use it to define the time and the conditions before the *noa* system was established.

(2) I think I have shown that the terms arising out of *pirrauru* marriage are the same as the group terms which are still retained in different languages, by tribes which now have only individual marriage.

(3) I have dealt with Mr. Thomas's "philological argument" at page 289, and also as to the "group-mother."

(4) I still say that if *pirrauru* marriage were a "sport" upon individual marriage, there should be, at least, survivals of relationship-terms denoting it. The only instance of such a term in the Dieri tribe is *tippa-malku*, and this, according to my view, is a restriction upon the *pirrauru* right.

I think I have discussed all the important points which Mr. Thomas makes. There are others which challenge attention, but to have dealt with all would require more space than I could ask. Nor is it, I think, necessary, for if I am correct, as I think I am, in my criticism of the larger ones, the lesser will necessarily fall to the ground.

I note Mr. Thomas's final statement, in which he implies that although my "field-work" has been "well and truly done," my "interpretation" of it has failed. I infer, however, from the general tenor of his remarks, that he claims for himself a special power of "interpretation."

I do not care to touch on my own qualifications, but it may interest Mr. Thomas to know that I have brought to the "interpretation" of my field-work the training acquired during 28 years as Police Magistrate and Warden of the gold-fields in Victoria, in sifting evidence and drawing inferences therefrom.

A. W. HOWITT.

COLLECTANEA.

SERPENT-PROCESSION AT COCULLO.

(*Plates III. and IV.*)

COCULLO is a large and picturesque village in the Abruzzi Mountains, nearly three thousand feet above the sea level, and on the border of the old territory of the ancient Marsi. The Marsi claimed descent from Marsia, son of Circe, and were renowned of old for their magic arts and their power over serpents, and their descendants at Cocullo to this day claim power over serpents, and hereditary immunity from serpent-bites.

S. Domenico of Foligno is now Patron of Cocullo, and is credited with miraculous powers of healing the bites of dogs and serpents, and even hydrophobia—and toothache!—and persons are brought from all parts of South Italy, and even Sicily, to be cured at the Feast of Serpents, or Feast of S. Domenico, which is held at Cocullo on the first Thursday in May. Persons suffering from hydrophobia, it is said, either die or are cured on entering the bounds of Cocullo, and so vivid is the popular faith in this treatment that more than one southern commune has of late years voted a sum of money to defray the cost of sending a patient attacked by this terrible disease to Cocullo for the Feast of S. Domenico. In the year 1906 the festival was to be on the third of May, and I arrived there on the first. For many days beforehand the Serpari, or snake-men of the village, collect numbers of live serpents from the surrounding hills and valleys, and keep them till the morning

of the procession in large receptacles or holes in the ground, feeding them with bran or semolina, and sometimes milk. On the eve of the festival bands of pilgrims began to arrive; each band of peasants, wearing the distinctive costume of their village or district, walked in procession, wallet on shoulder and rosary in hand, singing "Viva Maria," through the large open square where stands the little fourteenth-century church of S. Pamphilo, and then up the long, steep, and stony village street, close set with irregular old stone houses.

On arriving at the Sanctuary Church, which stands at the southern extremity of the village, and appears to have been cut from the solid rock, the pilgrims entered and passed up the church—many of them on their knees—some, I am told, on bare knees on the rough, rock floor. The shrine of S. Domenico, once Abbot of Foligno, stands to the right of the high altar. The statue of the saint appeared to be of wood, and is fairly life-like. It represents him in his monastic robe, with a reliquary, containing a mule's shoe which the Saint once dropped in Cocullo, on his breast. A small slit in front of the figure allows the faithful an opportunity of dropping in their money offerings, and a few silver hearts have been placed by others near the statue, while on the sides of the shrine are hung some long plaits of hair. After praying at this shrine each pilgrim reached up to touch the figure of the Saint, then kissed the hat or hand, or other object with which he had touched the saint or the relic. Then each in turn rang the Sanctuary bell with his teeth, thus ensuring freedom from the toothache.¹

Next, each filled a handkerchief with "S. Domenico's Earth" from a heap in one of the recesses in the church. It looked as if it came out of a chalk-pit. It is supposed to be the sweepings of the sanctuary floor, and is taken home to be sprinkled on gardens and fields as a preventive against

¹ The Archpriest of Cocullo informed me that in an account of the miracles at this festival, written by a monk of Monte Cassino about 1640, mention is made of a tooth of S. Domenico preserved at Cocullo. I heard of no tooth now in existence, but was told that the mule-shoe was used to touch aching teeth. See Note just received from him, p. 216.



SAINT DOMENICO OF COCULLO
(with Serpari and serpenti).



locusts and other noxious insects. One of the peasant women who saw me looking at the heap of "earth" on one side of the church asked for my handkerchief and filled it with the earth, knotting up the corners safely, and making the sign of the cross upon it with holy water from the stoup at hand. She then handed it to me, telling me to take it home and sprinkle the "earth" on my field, and there would be no locusts and no hurtful insects in it, so that my crops would be good. She added that I might also sprinkle a little on the floor of my house, and I should thus keep it free from unpleasant insects !

The little square space before the church door was surrounded by stalls, where rosaries, coloured woodcuts of S. Domenico with the serpents looking up at him, reliquaries and medals bearing his image, small gilt keys—"Keys of S. Domenico"—and small metal mule-shoes, with one point prolonged to a spike, were sold as charms against toothache; fillets of braided white cotton, with coloured flecks at intervals, were sold as a protection against serpent-bites. They are worn twisted round the wrist or hat, or tied to the women's shoulder straps. To be efficacious these charms must first touch the relic worn by the Saint.

In the street, just beyond the Piazza of the Sanctuary, we heard a continually-repeated cry of "*Per la Gettatura!*" and saw a small stall where a man was driving a brisk trade in charms against the Evil Eye—coral, mother-of-pearl, or silver horns, nickel hands, mother-of-pearl or nickel hunchbacks, skulls, fish, flasks, keys, rings with the device of a skull, boars' tusks, bunches of badger's hair—in fact, nearly all the charms used against the Evil Eye in South Italy.

On the morning of the festival more troops of peasants came in early from the nearer villages, and every variety of costume was seen in the street, all the women wearing on their heads either the white *tovaglia* or linen head-covering, or a white or brightly-coloured kerchief; except the women of Scanno, whose dark, refined features, and curious turban head-dress with the plaits of hair closely wound with wool, were remarkable even in that crowd of picturesque and beautiful figures. From time to time

we met men or lads, each carrying a large coiled serpent in his hands to the Piazza, whence at mid-day the great procession starts. We had already made the acquaintance of the Archpriest, Don Loreto Marchione, a courteous and cultivated gentleman, and a native of Cocullo, who promised every facility for taking photographs of the procession. It was well to ask leave for this, as, a few years ago, a distinguished Italian artist attended this festival in company with Don Antonio De Nino, the collector of Abruzzi folk-lore (who was here again this year without the artist), and had taken one or two snapshots of the procession, when a shower of rain came on, and the unlucky artist had to run for his life, the enraged peasants asserting that he had insulted the Saint, who had shown his wrath by sending the rain.

This year, however, there was no sign of rain. A blazing sun overhead lit up the bright new costumes of the women, the picturesque cloaks and sashes of the men and the uniforms of the soldiers, against the background of grey old houses, with the snow-tipped hills above; and all the folk were in the best and friendliest of tempers.

The procession started from the Piazza Santa Maria. First came some peasant women of Cocullo, rosary in hand, each carrying a gigantic candle, gaily painted, before the life-sized statue of the Redeemer, borne on the shoulders of four men. Then more women with candles, followed by the statues of S. Anthony the Hermit, the Madonna, S. Roch with his dog, each followed by a double line of candle-bearing women. Next, after a longer procession of pilgrims, walked the band of musicians—musical genius is innate in the Abruzzi folk, and especially in the district round Cocullo—playing their best for S. Domenico. Then came the Serpari carrying the coils of live serpents round neck and arm and in their bare hands, before the statue of S. Domenico, who with pastoral staff in one hand and his mule-shoe in the other, was borne, like the preceding saints, shoulder high by four men, who much prize this coveted honour. On each carrying-pole is hung a large ring-shaped bread loaf, which afterwards becomes the property of the bearer.

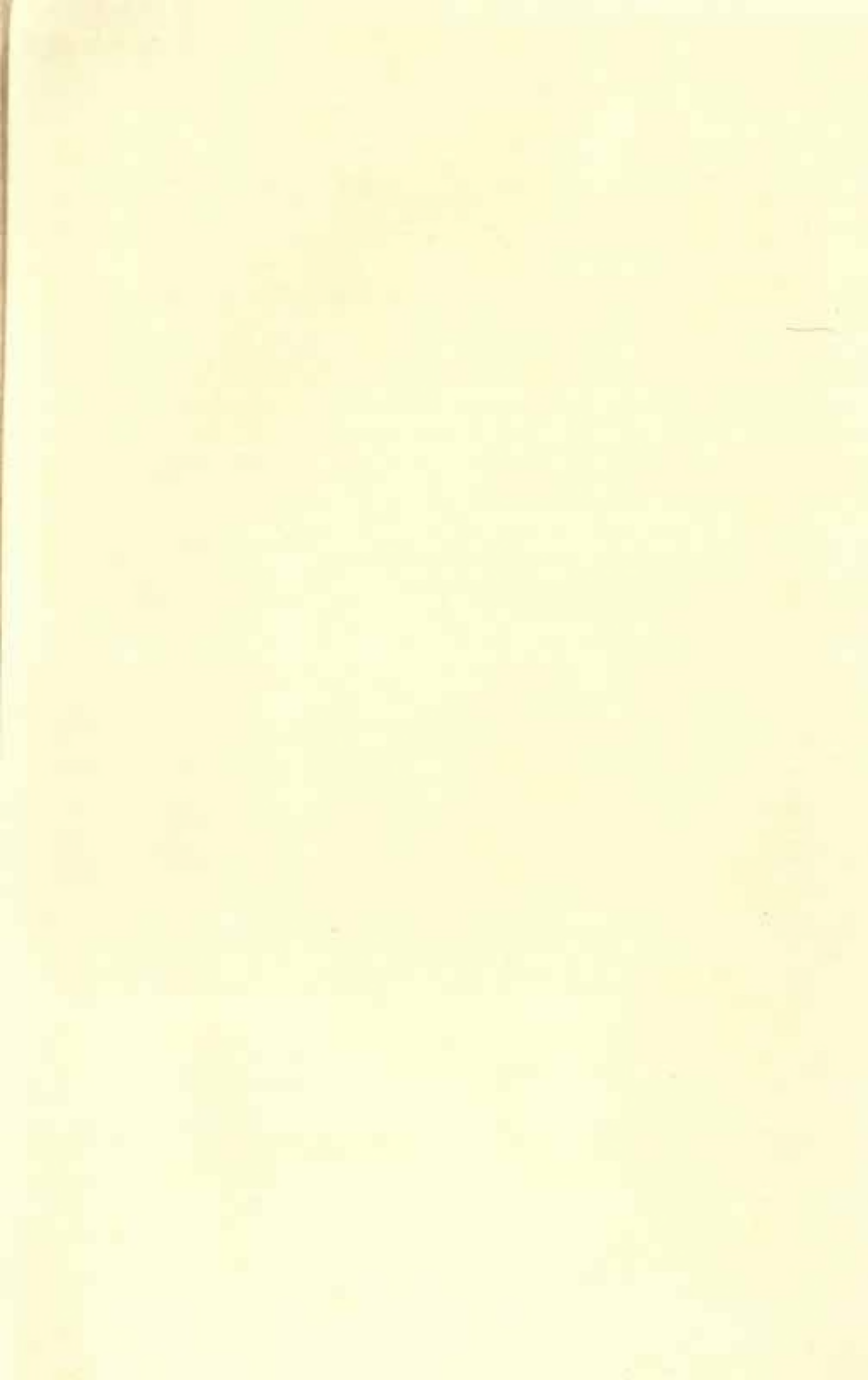


1. *The Madonna delle Grazie.*



2. *Saint Rock.*

PROCESSION OF SAINT DOMENICO, COCULLO.



Serpents, great and small, are hung about the Saint and coiled on his stand, and if a serpent wriggles away, and escapes to the ground, he is speedily caught and replaced by the bystanders. After S. Domenico and the snakes, came the Archpriest with several other clergy, the Host under a canopy, the soldiers, and yet more peasants. After making the round of the village the procession entered the Sanctuary. The statue of S. Domenico was replaced in his shrine near the high altar, and all the serpents were thrown upon the statue, twisting and wriggling all over the figure. Any that got away were promptly thrown back upon the Saint by anyone who could catch them.

After mass was over the serpents were carried out and counted, a fixed price per head being paid to the Serpari, after which they were taken to a field some way beyond the village and killed.

The procession was over. The pilgrims brought out their store of food—not forgetting the wine flask. Every house, every street, was full of feasting, and merry groups of country folk were seen on every side picnicking on the grassy slopes outside the village, before starting on their homeward journey.

We adjourned to a coffee party at the picturesque old house of the Archpriest, where we were hospitably entertained with every variety of wines, liqueurs, and cakes, besides the most delicious coffee, while we discussed the details of the procession with our host and his party of priests from the neighbourhood, till we were at last reluctantly obliged to say farewell to our new friends and to Cocullo.

MARIAN C. HARRISON.

CINDERELLA.

SINCE the publication of *Cinderella* in 1893 a number of additional variants have presented themselves—‘like Dian’s kiss, unasked, unsought’—and have been noted. To the untiring kindness of Dr. H. F. Feilberg, who had already contributed so largely to my collection, I am indebted for the abridged

translations from which the following tabulations have been made. They are arranged in bibliographical order: A signifies "Cinderella," B, "Catskin," and D, Indeterminate (see *Cinderella*, p. xxv).

The first of these (Afzelius) is defective as a Cinderella story. So is the second (*Antiquarisk Tidsskrift*), but it closely resembles a story from Norway, No. 82 in *Cinderella*. The magic tree, which springs from the buried heart of the helpful animal in the third story (Bondeson), behaves like the apple or pear trees of similar origin in the Moravian (No. 70), Russian (No. 227), French (Nos. 230, 233), German (No. 236), and Polish (Nos. 242, 243) stories. (For other magic trees, see Note 7, *Cinderella*, p. 477.) This story also is incomplete, but like the fourth (Carlsen), it is a variant of the numerous Cinderella stories—all Scandinavian as far as I know—which incorporate the incident of the 'magic forests' (see *Cinderella*, Nos. 30, 44, 45, 59, 83, 98, 99, 117, 175, 319, 320, 332, 334). The schoolmistress incident in Carlsen's is paralleled in No. 24, a Roman story. The sleep charm occurs in a Gaelic story (*Cinderella*, p. 534), in one from Zealand (No. 44), and in two from Russia (Nos. 227, 228). The spy is sometimes put to sleep by other means (see Note 34, p. 498).

The formula, 'dark behind, bright before,' occurring in several of the following tabulations, is frequently employed in the Scandinavian stories (see Nos. 15, 39, 41, 46, 47, 59, 61, 63, 64, 65, 77, 78, 79, 82, 83, 86, 88, 119, 164, 175, 265, 266); it occurs also in one from Mecklenburg (No. 146); while mist hides the heroine from her pursuers in a Hungarian (No. 88), a Bohemian (No. 125), and in an Italian (No. 281); see Note 6, pp. 476-7, and cp. Grimm's *Tent. Myth.*, 1626.

The Danish Saga (Kristensen) recalls the 'mound' incident in Nos. 283, 284, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 299, 302, 303, all Scandinavian, and the underground abode in Ericsson's "Den tillfälliga bruden" and variants, and in Sävle's "Den nedgravede prinsesse" (incomplete as a Cinderella story) tabulated below. The heroine's address to the horse, the bridge, etc., occurs in all of these, except Nos. 293 and 303.

Winther's "De to Kongedøttre," with its too-punitive close, is a good Cinderella story *manqué*; but it is very like a Swedish story (No. 22), which, however, does end in the proper way.

While the 'mound' and 'magic forests' incidents appear to be local colour exclusively Scandinavian, the incident of throwing, and subsequently naming, the 'token objects,' links the many stories here tabulated in which it occurs, as well as other Scandinavian variants (Nos. 11, 30, 44, 45, 59, 67, 86, 181, 265), with stories from the West Highlands (152); from England (264, 267); Belgium (224); Germany (146); Bohemia (201); Tyrol (268); Slavonia (131, 132, 174); Poland (58, 126, 206, 207, 258); Russia Proper (172, 258); Lithuania (311); Finland (109, 197, 198, 199); Greece (176); Abruzzi (183); Tuscany (134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 154, 165, 192); Campania (155); Venetia (20, 157); Rome (150); Liguria (271); Basque (304); Portugal (184); Sardinia (142, 143); and Corsica (250).

A. A. AFZELIUS, *Svenska Folkets Sago-Häfder* (a popular history of Sweden with tales interspersed), 2nd ed. Stockholm, 1844. I, p. 114. (Narrated by the owner of the farm Ingvald'storp, Vestergötland, Sweden.)

"KING INGEVALL'S DAUGHTER."

(1) In olden times lived King Ingevall, at the birth of whose daughter fairy appears, is well received, and, chanting over the child, promises it great happiness, and bestows wondrous gifts. (2) Queen dies; wicked foster-mother, who has daughter of her own, ill-treats king's daughter, whom she rears. (3) King sends for girls. On their way to castle foster-sister threatens to throw heroine from bridge into turbulent stream, obliges her to exchange clothes, and to swear never to reveal that foster-sister is not king's daughter. (4) Heroine becomes goose-girl, and has small boy for mate. Next morning they follow geese; these jump into broad stream to swim across. Heroine sings:

"Little grey geese!

Carry King Ingevall's daughter over the river."

Instantly geese crowd together, and carry her on their backs. Boy obliged to go long way round by bridge. (5) Heroine seats herself on small green mound, opens little box in which she keeps father's letters

and other treasures, and begins reading. Boy wants to look at the things; but she sings:

"Come! little whirlwind!

Take the boy's cap and whirl it about!"

Boy's cap is instantly caught by the wind, and he pursues it until heroine, having closed box, sings:

"Well done, little whirlwind!

Bring back the boy's cap!"

Wind drops, and boy recovers cap. Returning home same things happen; boy must run round by bridge, heroine is ferried over by geese. (6) King asks boy how he likes companion. "Not at all," he says, and, after looking angry for some days, eventually reveals all. King hides, hears and sees everything; recognises letters and box, his own gift to daughter; compels the truth from wicked foster-sister, whom he has always disliked. She is made goose-girl, and heroine takes her rightful place in king's castle.

Antiquarisk Tidsskrift, 1849-51. Copenhagen, 1852. P. 322.
(From the Faroe Islands.)

"GENTAN, SUM FEKK MAT OG KLAEDI I HEYGINUM" (The Girl who got meat and clothes in the Mound).

(1) Man and wife have a daughter. When she is one year old mother dies. (2) Father marries again; has another daughter. Stepmother prefers own daughter, ill-treats heroine, and gives her menial work. In winter heroine cleans stables, grinds corn, teazes wool, and so forth; in summer she goes far into the hills to milk cows, starting hungry every morning. Fair is she as the fairest sun of summer, red and white as blood on snow; stepsister is ugly and loathsome to all. More and more beautiful grows heroine for all her hard and dirty work; stepsister looks pale and sickly from indoor-life. Stepmother would starve heroine to spoil her beauty. Deprived of supper and breakfast, heroine is weak with hunger, and heavy-hearted as she sets forth with milk pail on her back, and without hope of getting food. She weeps as she goes. All at once, on looking up, she sees an open mound, and a table laid with meat and drink; enters mound, and partakes after prayer and thanksgiving; grows strong and healthy. Stepmother would know by what means. At last stepsister induces heroine to tell. (3) Stepsister goes next day to milk cows; mound opens, she eats and drinks, and fills her pockets, but neither prays for guidance nor returns thanks. Following day she will eat nothing at home; arriving at the mound finds it closed; has far to climb hill seeking cattle; returns home very angry, and will never go milking again. (4) Mound always opens for heroine, who goes shoeless, and in rags; and one day she finds pretty clothes hanging there, which a voice says are hers.

(5) Donning them, she sits down to admire them; king's son, with long train of followers, arrives, talks, and falls in love with beautiful girl, woos her, and tells his name. If he does not change his mind he may come next year, and ask her from her parents; she will not refuse. They part. (6) Heroine tells nothing at home; stepsister takes her new clothes, and she wears rags as before. In a year prince returns as suitor, shining with gold from head to foot, his followers like himself. (7) Parents consent. Wife puts heroine in prison, and presents own daughter in fine clothes previously seen by prince. He objects: it is not the same girl. Mother declares severe illness has altered her. Prince is moved, invites girl to take walk with him; turns from her a moment, and, on looking back, sees her writhing on the ground. Prince discovers imposture, threatens to kill everyone unless right girl is brought. (8) Father fetches heroine; prince rejoices, gives her costly clothes and treasures, puts her on steed. At his father's death he becomes king, and heroine, queen. Wicked stepmother dies of anger and grief.

A. BONDESON, *Historiegubbar på Dal*. Stockholm, 1886. P. 192.

"FLICKAN OCH KON" (The Girl and the Cow).

(1) Parents dying leave beautiful and only daughter nothing but a cow. Heroine is about to sell it; cow says: "Don't sell me!" They set out together, girl resting on cow's back. (2) They come to a wood, whose large trees have silver and golden leaves. "Touch none of the leaves or you will lose me," says cow. But crossing the wood mounted on cow heroine takes hold of a twig which has touched her face. Cow reproves her for having taken some leaves; wild beast rushes forth and tears cow to pieces. (3) Heroine grieves, takes cow's heart, and reaches a royal castle. Hard by she buries the heart, and builds herself a hut by the grave. (4) King passes, and tries to get an apple from tree which has sprung from cow's heart; but apple-tree shoots up its branches out of reach. King sees and enters hut, asking girl if apples are hers. Yes, and he can have as many as he will. Down bows the tree that he may gather its fruit. King asks heroine how she came by tree; hears her whole story, takes her with him, and marries her.

FRANZISKA CARLSEN, *Efterretninger om Gammelhøjeggaard og Omegn*, Copenhagen, 1876-78. II, p. 144 (in a supplement containing a few folk-tales and ballads).

A "METTE TRÆHÆTTE" (Mette Wooden-hood).

(1) Widower lives far away in the country with his only daughter, Mette. Heroine goes to school kept by widow, who sends message to heroine's father that she is willing to marry him. First time widower says no; second time complies. (2) New wife brings two daughters, one of whom

has an extra eye in her neck. Stepmother ill-treats heroine, scolds, and starves her. (3) She goes weeping to churchyard, kneels at mother's grave, and knocks thrice on tomb-stone. Mother rises, comforts her, bidding her come at any time for counsel. Should a stepsister accompany her, she need but say, "Sleep one eye, sleep two eyes, sleep the whole body!" [no verse or rhyme] before calling forth her mother. As she stands by grave, two white doves come flying from altar of the church, settle on her shoulders, and feed her. (4) Time passes; there comes a day when stepmother's harshness is unbearable. Heroine goes to churchyard, pronounces spell, and the girl in her company sleeps. Heroine calls her mother, is comforted, and the doves feed her. After further ill-treatment another visit to tomb. Same spell, but this time only two eyes sleep, the third sees all, and stepsister informs mother. Heroine is scolded, shut up, and not allowed out. (5) One day, during stepmother's absence, heroine gets leave from father to take a walk, visits churchyard, and calls mother, who gives her wooden dress, and tells her she must mount the red calf that she will see outside churchyard, and ride through three forests, of gold, of silver, of diamond, but never touch a leaf of any tree. Afterwards, she will reach a golden castle, and must there seek service. Mother gives her at parting a small box, to be kept in her bosom, and tapped whenever anything is needed. But heroine cannot resist temptation to pluck a leaf in the silver wood. This is instantly changed into a silvery dress. Men and wild beasts pursue but cannot stop her, the red calf bearing her safely through every danger. Similar, but worse things, befall in the golden wood; and in the diamond wood the men and wild beasts tear her from calf's back; but she is up again and off, and they safely reach golden castle. (6) Here heroine is engaged as hen-maid, and goes about in wooden dress, being everybody's "dog" (drudge). (7) One Sunday she has to take king's water for washing, which, at sight of her, he throws over her. She returns to kitchen, and cook bids her cook dinner while he goes to church. (8) Cook and others being absent, heroine taps her little box; out jumps a black dog, asking what is wanted. She wants her silver dress, a coach, and four white horses. "Nobody see before! nobody see behind! nobody see whither I drive!" and away she goes to church while dog prepares dinner. Heroine sits in pew next to king's. As she leaves after service king's servant asks whence she comes. "From Water-basin Country!" and pronouncing the spell she drives unseen away. Dinner being excellent, she is praised by the cook, and people begin to pity her. (9) Next Sunday she must take up king's boots; he throws them at her. Same incidents as before: golden dress, coach and four, and she says she comes "from Boot Country." (10) Third Sunday a towel is thrown at her; diamond dress, coach and four. But king himself waits at carriage, where tar has been spread to detain her. He questions: she replies, "From Towel Country," and vanishes on pronouncing spell. But she has lost one shoe on entering carriage. Dinner better than ever, and heroine

is praised. (11) Shoe is sent all over the country, and all the people in castle try it in vain. Only heroine is left; shoe fits her; king recognises in the wooden-hood the beautiful lady he has thrice seen in different dresses in church. (12) He woos her, marries her, and they live many happy years.

ERICSSON'S MS. COLLECTIONS. Kgl. Witterhetsakademien,
Stockholm.

B "RUFELS" (Shaggy-cloak).

(1) King promises dying queen he will only marry a girl resembling her, and whom her dress fits. (2) After awhile king wants to marry his own daughter. Heroine weeps; an old man asks why, and advises her to demand three dresses, one trimmed with silk roses, one with golden flowers, and one with diamonds, and lastly, a cloak of every kind of fur, a cap to cover the head, and eye-glasses. She is to don the three dresses, and outside all the shaggy cloak, and flee with him. (3) Old man takes her to a lake, which they cross in a boat, then bids her proceed till she reaches a charcoal-burner's hut. Here she must ask for food and shelter. Old man at parting gives her key to open a large boulder. (4) Charcoal-burner's wife asks what she can do, and advises her, since she can spin silk, to go to royal castle. (5) Here the queen engages her. Heroine discovers boulder, and locks her dresses in it. The prince is ill; Shaggy-cloak must nurse him; he throws a bit of fire-wood at her. (6) Prince recovers and goes to church; heroine obtains permission to go too, and sit in porch. She unlocks stone, dons dress with silver and silk roses, and takes her seat opposite prince, who bids his servant ask whence she comes. "From Fire-wood-throwing Country," she says, mounts her waiting horse, saying, "Light before me! darkness behind me!" and vanishes. (7) Prince again ill; throws washing-water at heroine, who subsequently replies: "From Washing-water-throwing Country!" . . . (8) Third time "From Blanket-throwing Country." This time, instead of afterwards changing dress, she hurriedly covers it with shaggy cloak. (9) Prince again ill; queen cooks his dinner; heroine throws sand into the dish. Queen prepares another, into which heroine throws the ring given to her by prince at last meeting in church. Prince recognises ring, arranges dinner party, inviting everybody. Heroine not allowed to go till cook intercedes. (10) Prince sees edge of her golden dress; recognises her; marries her.

Ibid.

B "KRÄKNÄNNÄKAPPAN" (The Crowbill-cloak).

(1) King wants to marry own daughter, who demands in turn three dresses: like star, moon, and sun; and lastly, a cloak made of crows' skins and bills. (2) She escapes to another kingdom and gets employment at palace. She has to butcher, scour, and sweep, and the work being

too hard, she weeps. (3) An old woman comforts her; she need but say: "My knife, butcher! my rubber, scour! my broom, sweep!" and work will be done. (4) Heroine looks ugly and dirty; prince throws water at her, and asks whence she comes. She is silent; but old woman bids her answer: "From Water-throwing Country." Afterwards, when prince has thrown slipper at her, she says she comes from "Slipper-throwing Country." (5) On Sundays she goes to church, wearing in turn, at old woman's advice, star, moon, and sun dresses; hastens home and changes for crow-bill cloak. (6) Third Sunday she is advised to loosen one shoe-string; as she hurries back prince follows, and catches loose shoe. (7) All the girls are summoned to court to try shoe, and, last of all, Crowbill-cloak. Shoe fits her; she produces its fellow; throws off cloak, and appears in golden sun-dress. Happy marriage to prince.

Ibid.

D "DEN TILLFÄLLIGA BRUDEN" (The bride by chance).

(1) Two princesses agree upon the marriage of their unborn children. This girl and boy when born are, for some unknown reason, separated. The girl is put into a pit underground with a maid-servant and little dog, for three or seven years. (2) Boy discovers her, but is obliged to go away; he promises to return three times. First time heroine gives him handkerchief with three drops of blood on it, saying: "If ever you find a person able to wash out these blood-spots I shall be dead, and you can marry." Second time she gives a finely-woven kerchief: "When you find a person able to weave a kerchief like this, marry her." Third visit she gives an embroidered kerchief: "If you find a girl able to embroider another like this, marry her." (3) At last, girl and maid being furnished, cast lots which shall die; but wild animals scratch open the earth-house. (4) Heroine goes to seek her lover; comes to royal castle, where hero-prince is about to marry lady if she can wash out the blood-spots.¹ She cannot; heroine offers assistance, is scolded, but does the task; also weaves and embroiders a kerchief without prince's knowledge. (5) Wedding to be celebrated; but lady bears a child,² and heroine goes to church in her stead. Heroine says to the horse:

"Fall on thy knees, thou falcon gray!

'Tis a king's child that will ride you to-day."

To the bridge that breaks beneath every person who is not the child of a king, she says:

"Thou broad bridge keep strong,
A royal child rides along."

¹Comp. *Cinderella*, No. 275, from Agen, and see Note 13, p. 481; also, *Am. Folk-Lore Journal*, ix, 284.

²Comp. Swedish Story, No. 276, and see Note 14, p. 483.

Prince asks, "Why do you say that?" "It came into my mind." Hero locks round her neck a golden chain, which only he can unlock. A little bird sits in the bushes warbling; heroine says: "You sing to your friend. When I return home I shall lose mine." Same question from hero; same reply. He gives her a golden apple: "You must return it to me only." They pass a withered fir-tree, on which sits a bird. Heroine says: "You warble here in the withered fir; at home lies the bride bearing a child in the cowhouse." Same question, same reply. (6) On returning home heroine exchanges dress with bride, who, when hero asks: "Why did you say so-and-so?" must every time go and ask her maid; also when hero demands the golden chain. Heroine advises her to promise the chain when all the lights are put out. When heroine holds out the golden apple in the dark, hero grasps her hand, lights are brought, and heroine is discovered as true bride.

In a variant, the tests are a half-finished web, half-finished shirt, and bloody kerchief to wash. Hero begs heroine to tell a story, and she answers: "Songs and tales I have forgotten during my seven years' stay underground. I have suffered much; have ridden on a bear's back; but, still more, I suffer to-day when I am to be bride in a proud lady's stead."

Ibid. Another version.

D

"DEN TILLFÄLLIGA BRUDEN."

(1) There are two women: one bears a girl, the other a boy. Heroine is concealed in an underground house, having as companions a cock, a pair of scissors, and a live coal. (2) She works her way out, and becomes a servant—"att hugga ved å krattå ved," i.e. to chop firewood and cover the seed (corn) sown in ashes where trees have been burned. (3) In the king's house, bride has to finish a begun web, wash a blood-stained kerchief, and scour blood-spots from a key. Heroine hears about this, sets out, but is stopped by impassable stream. She stands weeping; a wolf appears and says: "Take a seat on my tail, I'll help you over!" Thus she crosses stream, reaches king's house where wedding is arranged, but bride has fallen ill. (4) Heroine takes bride's place. In the wood, on way to church, she says: "For twelve years I have been sitting underground. I have chopped firewood, and covered corn with ashes of burnt trees. Ah me! what I have suffered." Hero asks: "What did you say?" "I am not talking to you, but to my nuids." He gives her a glove to keep. Dismounting from her horse, she says: "Stand still, you Walle-Kwalle! At home the bride bears a child in the stable." Hero asks same question; same reply given. He breaks his gold ring in two, gives one piece to heroine, and begs her to keep it till it is asked for. Heroine and bride exchange dresses. (Remainder of story like other version.)

J. HENRIKSSON, *Plägseder och Skrock*. Åmål, 1889.

P. 69. (Swedish.)

B

"PELSARUBB" (Fur-cloak).

(1) Queen dies, king having promised not to re-marry till he finds someone whom queen's wedding dress fits as well as it fitted queen. (2) King's daughter, being grown up, one day puts on mother's wedding dress, and entering king's room, says: "Look, papa, how well it fits me." King says he is going to marry her. (3) Heroine goes away weeping; dead mother meets her, and asks why. "Don't cry," she says; "ask your father for a dress like the stars." Heroine gets it, and afterwards one like the moon, and the third time one like the sun. Father will now marry her. Dead mother bids her ask for cloak of every possible kind of fur. (4) That being also obtained, mother takes her to another kingdom, and bids her seek work in royal palace, asking only for a room to herself in which to keep her belongings. She gets this, and becomes chamber-maid. Prince is going to leave home; heroine is told to take him water for washing; she carries up a can of dirty water, which he throws at her. Afterwards, she takes up his boots, having filled them, and later, his hat, with dish water. Prince is so angry that he stays at home. (5) Next Sunday heroine is allowed to go to church, but must return as soon as sermon is finished. Heroine goes in star dress, and on leaving church is followed by prince. "Whence come you?" he asks. "From Dirty-water-can, Boots Country, in Hatstream parish. Light before, darkness behind me, nobody must know where I go!" and she vanishes. Returning home she dons fur-cloak. Second Sunday she wears moon dress, and everything happens as before; likewise on third Sunday when she wears sun dress, and gives same answer to prince. He enquires about her in vain; everybody has seen her, nobody knows her. (6) In the afternoon prince sends for chamber-maid to 'louse' him; she obeys, laying his head on her lap. Prince tears a hole in her cloak, sees sun dress beneath, recognises heroine, and marries her. (7) After the wedding they visit heroine's father, who rejoices at her good fortune.

E. T. KRISTENSEN, *Fra Bindestue og Koelle* II, No. II, p. 61. 1897. (Told by an old farmer's widow, Maren Nielsen, now deceased; from a village near Aarhus, Jutland.)

A "LILLE MAREN I TRÆKJOLEN" (Little Mary in the Wooden-gown).

(1) King has three daughters, the youngest called Mary. Elder sisters hate her, send her into kitchen to cook, and, deeming her dress too good, make her gown of shavings. (2) After awhile father falls ill; expecting death, he calls elder daughters, gives each her inheritance, but forgets youngest. Elder sisters being conscience-stricken, send heroine to take

leave of father, but decline to lend her better clothes to appear in. (3) "Good gracious! are you going to die?" she exclaims; "what shall you leave me?" Father is surprised to find her still alive, not having seen her for so long. "I have given everything to your sisters." "What, not the little dog as well?" and heroine begs to have it to live with her in kitchen. Father gives it, and dies, and is buried; two elder sisters are now reigning queens. (4) One day, on going to church, they bid heroine get a certain fish [narrator had forgotten its name]; or failing, she will be punished. She takes little dog with her to seashore; merman rises, and asks why she weeps; brings up the required fish, ties it round dog's neck, together with slip of paper instructing cook how to dress it. (5) He then asks whether she would like to go to church. She has not been for many years. Merman fetches dress, coach, coachman and footman, and bids her leave church when clergyman descends pulpit, say, "Darkness behind, light before me; no one shall see whither I go," and undress before sisters return. Heroine sits in church beside sisters, who do not know her; a prince who is present looks at no one else. (6) Heroine returns to seashore after church, and merman gives her her old clothes. Sisters find her at home in wooden gown, and ask for the fish, which is brought. (7) Next Sunday she must procure another fish; all happens as before. (8) Third Sunday she goes to church in silver coach and six. "Beware that the prince does not catch you!" says the merman. The prince has posted himself behind church-door, and when heroine leaves he gets one of her slippers. She tells merman, who comforts her, saying, "No one else will be able to wear it." (9) Sisters ask for fish, and whilst they tell her of beautiful lady seen in church, prince drives into the court. They invite him to partake of their dinner; he wants them to try on slipper. One cuts her heel, the other her toe, but a bird sings: "Cut heel, chop toe; in the kitchen will be found one whom shoe fits." Prince bids them send for cook. "Mary, be quick! come and try the shoe." "Lend me a dress!" "No." So she hies to seashore; merman gives her dress, coach and everything, and she drives into court. "There is she whom shoe fits," they say, "but it is not Mary." (10) Still Mary it is, and prince "drinks his wedding with her" (Danish dialect expression).

E. T. KRISTENSEN, *Saga* IV, p. 106, No. 420.

(Danish Saga.)

A castle, Fönixberg, was laid waste during the Swedish war. The man at that time in possession of the castle had three daughters. They were taken by a secret underground passage into a vault which was then bricked-up, so that the man's daughters and his treasure of gold and silver might be hidden from the enemy. Sufficient victuals to last a long time were also stored underground. The man was killed in the war, the land laid waste and the castle burnt down; and the girls, all the

food having been eaten, eventually died of hunger. Many years later an old man is passing the spot by night, when a white lady, sitting on a stump, begs him to follow her, and conducts him into the castle vault. There she opens a box with a key, and displays large treasure of gold and silver. "Don't forget the best!" says she. The man is too frightened to utter a word; the lady gazing at him sadly, exclaims, with a loud cry, that now there is no help for her, and she must wander till the judgment day. Instantly everything vanishes, and the man is standing in the open field. In the opinion of the folk, the man should have replied in such a way as to have released the white lady; then she could have gone to heaven, and he could have got the treasure.

P. SÄVE'S MS. COLLECTIONS, III. University Library,
Upsala, Sweden. *Sagor*, No. 13.

"DEN NEDGRAVEDE PRINSESSE" (The buried Princess).

(1) King has an only daughter betrothed to a prince. King and prince go to the wars, king having prepared an underground chamber for heroine, her maid and dog. (2) King is killed; heroine in vain awaits deliverance. (3) Prince has handkerchief with his name worked in gold letters by heroine; drop of blood from her pricked finger has stained it, and no one can wash it out. Prince in vain seeks heroine; promises to marry girl who can wash kerchief clean. (4) Maid dies in underground chamber; dog scratches his way out, heroine follows; reaches prince's kingdom, and is engaged as chamber-maid. (5) Prince is to be married next day to girl exactly resembling heroine, except in voice, who bids her wash out blood-spot. Heroine does so; is forbidden to speak. (6) Bride falls ill, heroine goes to church in her place. She says to the horses: "There you are! my father, King Falk's steeds. Now you are mine." Prince asks what she says; heroine whispers: "Nothing." Crossing bridge she says: "There you swim my duck and drake. When I go back I lose my mate." Same question from prince and whispered reply. During wedding ceremony heroine receives a ring which must be given up to none but prince. (7) On returning heroine gives up dress to false bride, who, at table, cannot repeat what was said going to church, and must ask chamber-maid. Prince is suspicious; discovers true bride. Happy marriage.

Ibid.

B "KRÅK-PÆLSEN" (The Crow-cloak).

(1) King wants to marry daughter. (2) Heroine is allowed three wishes: dress like sun, another like moon, a third like stars. Three faithful servants shoot crows, and a cloak is made of the flayed skins. (3) Heroine escapes in cloak, with dresses hidden in box, and passes night in hut of an ugly old hag, who next morning shows castle where heroine can get employment. Leaving box of dresses with hag, heroine is engaged as 'lamb-girl.' (4) One

day she is told to take prince his golden slippers; he throws one at her because she is ugly. (5) Heroine has permission to go and wash her face in a pond; she runs to the hag, dons star-dress and calls on a lord whom prince is visiting. All marvel at her beauty. Asked whence she comes, she says: "From Slipper-throwing Country," jumps into her coach and at home changes dress. . . . (Similar incidents and replies in connection with golden comb, water-basin.) Hurrying away heroine loses a shoe. (6) All the girls assembled; the one whom shoe fits to be queen. Some cut toe, others chop heel, but bird betrays them, adding: "In the lamb-house is sitting the girl whom the shoe fits." There she is found in the crowskin-cloak; becomes queen.

Ibid. *Sagor* No. 15.

A "STYFDÖTTEREN OCH DEN RÄTTA DÖTTEREN" (The step-daughter and the right daughter).

(1) Woman has daughter of her own and a step-daughter. The latter, fair as the day, is an ill-used servant, obliged to fetch water from the well while others go to church. (2) An old man at the well asks heroine why she is sad, and gives her small box containing star dress in which she goes to church, and sits, unrecognised, beside stepmother. Heroine leaves first. Returned home, where meanwhile old man has done everything, stepmother speaks of beautiful lady, at whom everyone, including prince, has been looking. All happens as before a second time when heroine wears a moon dress, and a third time when she wears sun dress and golden shoes, one of which is left behind, stuck to the tar on the threshold. (3) Prince wants for his queen the girl whom shoe fits. Stepsister, with heel and toe cut, starts to church as prince's bride, but on the way little bird sings: "Chopped heel and cut toe, at home sits the fair lady whom the shoe fits." Blood from foot is seen in the coach. (4) Prince returns and discovers true bride.

Ibid. *Sagor* No. 36.

B "TUSEN-PELSEN" (Thousand-cloak).

(1) Queen dies; king having promised to marry girl whom all her dresses fit, wants to marry his own daughter. (2) Heroine demands a dress made of patches collected from all over the world; afterwards a star dress, a moon dress, a sun dress; lastly, a ship sailing through land and water. (3) Heroine dons thousand-patch cloak, and goes aboard. "Light before, darkness behind! nobody shall see where I am going!" Far away she gets employed as servant in castle. (4) King is dressing to go awooing; heroine takes his shaving-water. "Get out you ugly thousand-cloak!" says king; but heroine tells cook he said nothing. Having permission to go and wash, heroine boards the ship; says same spell, and in moon dress

reaches king's destination before him. King forgets all about his wooing, looking at her. Asked whence she comes, heroine says: "From Razor-throwing Country." "Many countries have I visited, but never till now have I heard that name." "Well, it is far, far hence," she says; jumps on board, and vanishes. Having changed dress, she asks cook, "Have I been too long away?" "No. . . ." (Similar incidents and replies in connection with towel, galoshes.) On the last occasion she wears sun dress, and is so late returning that she throws ugly cloak over it. (5) Each time the king when speaking has given her a ring with his name on it. Told to carry up his soup, heroine puts the three rings into dish; king discovers them, sends for Thousand-cloak, and asks whether she has another dress. No; her parents were too poor. King sends servant out to buy her beautiful dress; heroine must undress in king's presence; sun dress is thus discovered. "Well, it *is* you, my love!" king cries. Happy marriage.

A. SEGERSTEDT, *Svenska Folksagor och Äfventyr*. Stockholm, 1884. P. 3.

A "KRÅKPELSA" (Crow-cloak).

"Did you ever hear tell of Crow-cloak? She was really a woman, though people used to say she was an awful fool." (1) All the people of the farm go to church; Crow-cloak must stay at home, and is very sad. (2) Mountain-troll comes to comfort her, dresses her in white dress, making her very lovely, and sends her to church, where all look at her in amazement. Her horse is outside. She jumps up, saying: "White before me! black behind me! nobody shall see whither I go." Heroine is sitting in her wonted place when people return talking of beautiful lady. (3) Next Sunday, lest heroine should follow, they pour jug of salt into the ashes, and bid her pick it up. Troll assists, and sends her to church in silver dress and shoes. (4) Third Sunday bag of peas thrown into ashes; troll sends heroine to church in golden dress and shoes. In her hurry to leave heroine does not see trough of tar placed in church doorway, and loses a shoe. All marvel at its small size. (5) Prince will marry whomsoever it fits. Woman at farm wants her daughter to be Queen; chops her heel and cuts her toe; shoe is squeezed on, but birds betray girl on way to church. "What means that singing in the wood?" asks prince. "I suppose the birds are warbling." Prince is suspicious, and returns to farm, but finds nobody, woman having thrust heroine beneath water-butt in courtyard. Prince supposing bride spoke truth returns to church, but more loudly still from every bush is heard: "Chop heel, cut toe; in the courtyard is the girl whom shoe fits." (6) Thither prince returns, seeks and finds heroine, and marries her. Neither woman nor daughter gets any profit for her pains!

J. SUNDBLAD, *Gammaldags Seder och Bruk*, 2nd ed. Stockholm, 1888. P. 214. No. 9. (Swedish.)

B

PELSARUBB.¹

(1) Queen dies. King wants to marry their daughter; she is more beautiful than anyone else. (2) Heroine at last assents, but first exacts in turn a silver, a gold, a star dress. (3) With these she secretly leaves home; comes to an old woman living in underground cave in dark forest, and remains there till tired of the quiet. She then seeks situation; is engaged as hen-girl at king's castle, and allowed to spend every Saturday till Monday morning with foster-mother, the old woman in cave. (4) First Sunday foster-mother harnesses her calf, having no horse, bids heroine don one of her shining dresses, and say, should anyone vex or touch her: "White before me! black behind me!" Calf takes her over hill and mountain; sticks and straws are sent whizzing around them. All gaze at her in church, unheeding sermon. When they throng round her to learn whence she comes, heroine speaks spell and vanishes. On Monday she re-appears as dirty hen-girl. So everything passes for some time. Prince has had no suspicion who 'Pelsarubb' is, and has thrown at her an old hat, his boots, and lastly, a washing-basin, when she has been sent to him with shaving water. Afterwards, when the crowd questions her at church door, she replies: "From Hat parish, Boot County," repeats spell and vanishes. (5) Prince is in love with heroine, but cannot catch her. He dreams that by assembling all servant-girls in castle he may discover heroine. Pelsarubb's turn comes. It is Monday morning, and she has had no time to change clothes, so covers them with filthy ragged gown. Prince is about to turn her out, but spies some shining thing under rags, and tears the hole larger. Heroine is discovered, and relates her story. Happy marriage. Foster-mother sits between king and queen at the feast.

E. WAHLFISK, *Bidrag till Södermanlands äldre Kulturhistorie*, VIII. Edited by Strengnäs, 1895. P. 79.

B

"KRÄKNABBA-PELSEN" (Crowbill-cloak).

(1) King wants to marry his daughter. She demands in turn star, moon, sun dress, and lastly, a Crowbill-cloak. (2) With these she escapes, becomes menial in royal palace, and weeps because work is too hard. (3) Old woman appears, bids her say: "Knife, butcher! wisp, scour! broom, sweep!" and the tools will obey. All is now well. Heroine carries washing-water

¹ In a note to this tale, Mr. Sundblad supposes it to have been derived from a penny print, and the last part of the heroine's name to have been *robe*, Pels-robe, i.e. Fur-robe, Fur-cloak.

to young king, who throws it at her for looking loathsome in crowbill-cloak. Heroine saddened, is comforted by old woman, who bids her take more water to king, and, if questioned, say she comes "From Water-throwing Country." Heroine obeys; king throws slippers at her. Next time she must say: "From Slipper-throwing Country. (4) Next Sunday she asks leave to go to church; king says: "You scarecrow, what have you to do in church!" Old woman bids her go in star dress, and sit opposite king. Heroine leaves church in good time, and is back in crowbill-cloak when king returns full of praise of beautiful young lady. Heroine is sorry she might not go and see her. All happens the same a second and a third Sunday, but this time heroine is told to wear sun dress, and to loosen left shoe-string. (5) King follows her out, catches her left foot as she mounts her horse, and retains shoe. (6) All the girls bidden to come to court to try shoe, and the one it fits will be queen. Some mothers cut their daughters' toes all in vain. At length heroine appears in crowbill-cloak, puts on shoe, fetches its fellow, then doffs cloak, and stands shining like the bright sun. She becomes queen.

M. WINTHER, *Danske Folkeventyr*. Copenhagen, 1825. P. 12.

"DE TO KONGEDØTTRE" (The two Princesses).

(1) King has two daughters, the elder wicked and ugly, the younger beautiful and good. Elder daughter is beloved, and lives with king in gorgeous rooms of palace; heroine lives with servants and shares their work. (2) Neighbouring king arranges festival to last several days. Elder daughter attends it with father; heroine left in kitchen. She sits crying in the twilight in her small room; suddenly strange little man appears and offers to fulfil a wish. Heroine wishes to see ball where father and sister are; she may go, on condition that she returns before midnight. (3) Man vanishes, and heroine stands in costly dress, wearing heavy gold chains, and a crown of diamonds; at her door is magnificent coach with four snow-white horses, whose golden manes reach the ground. Heroine enters coach, and soon finds herself at palace, admired of all, and unrecognised by father and sister. As twelve o'clock strikes she mounts coach and is back in her shabby clothes in dark room. Next day father and sister talk incessantly of fair unknown princess. In the evening they go to festival, leaving heroine hard at work. Seeing red glare in sky from illuminated palace heroine longs to go, and immediately is beautifully and magnificently dressed. At the ball she is admired and courted beyond measure. As the clock strikes she leaves in the midst of a dance. This time her horses are yellow with jet-black plaited manes. Third evening a heavy gale blows; she wears a triple crown of sparkling diamonds; her coach is drawn by eight flame-coloured horses, with manes like shining gold. Everyone would dance with her; she stays beyond her time, and leaves in her black working dress, to find outside, instead of coach, an

old wheelbarrow drawn by four small mice. She weeps bitterly over her forgetfulness, and in future passes her days as a common servant in her father's kitchen.

Ibid., p. 48.

B "HISTORIE OM EN LILLE KOKKETÖS" (Tale of a little kitchen wench).

(1) Widowed king wants to marry his beautiful daughter. She declines, weeping. (2) Old beggar woman limps into the courtyard; only the princess gives her anything. Old woman advises heroine to ask father for a silver dress, it may save her. She obtains it, and next time she demands and obtains a golden dress. Some time later, when old woman is scoffed at and ill-used, heroine gives her a large sum; thereupon she receives a feather dress and a small magic rod. She can don the dress, and, striking the air with rod, say: "Light before! dark behind!" and go unseen anywhither. (3) Again hard pressed by father, heroine puts on a servant's dark gown, bundles up her two dresses, throws on the feather dress, works the spell, and flies far away into a foreign kingdom, where she is engaged as kitchen wench at palace. (4) When king asks for washing-water, heroine begs leave to take it, and is at last allowed. King throws basin at her; on the next occasion the towel, and on the third the comb. (5) One Sunday everyone from the palace goes to church; heroine may get dinner ready. She dons silver dress, gets to church by means of feather dress and spell, and everyone wonders who is the beautiful unknown lady. She leaves early, and prepares an excellent dinner. Everyone talks about stranger in church. Next Sunday she wears gold dress, leaves early, but sees king following her, and in her haste loses one shoe. (6) King announces he will wed whomsoever shoe fits. Feet and toes are pinched in vain; at last there is no one left but kitchen-wench, and that she too may be made a fool of they send for her. But lo! the shoe fits her exactly, and throwing off her servant's dress there she stands in the golden one, and tells the king everything. (7) He marries her, and they live long and happily.

The following are references to Cinderella variants:

Adhémar Lectère, Cambodge, *Contes et Légendes*. Paris, 1895. P. 70.

"Niang Kantoc."

American Folk-Lore Journal, viii, 160; xix, 265-280. (Filipino versions by

Fletcher Gardner, with Comparative Note by W. W. Newell.)

Archivio, xii, 2. "Une Cendrillon Annamite."

Aurland, 1832, 58.

Blätter für Pommersche Volkskunde. Stettin, 1892. No. 2, p. 26.

"Rauhthierchen."

- BÜSCHING, *Wöchentl. Nachr. f. Freunde d. Mittelalters*, i, 139; iv, 61.
Folk-Lore Journal, iii, 301.
- Folk-Lore*, i, app. p. 149 (Catskin variant); iv, 95, 96; v, 86, 216-17, 203 ff. (Irish Story, "Culfin"); 325 (Estonian version); 344 "The Princess and the Cat" (from N. India); vi, 305, "Ashley Pelt."
- GITTÉE, *Contes Wallons*, p. 41.
- E. T. KRISTENSEN, *Eventyr fra Jylland*. Copenhagen, 1895. iii, p. 27. No. 4. "Pisk i Aske" (=unpublished story contributed to *Cinderella*, p. 26. No. 63).
- P. DE MONT and A. DE COCK, *Vlaamische Wonder Sprookjes*. Ghent, 1896. No. 19, p. 155. "Van Sloddeken-vuil."
- North Indian Notes and Queries*, iii (see *Folk-Lore*, v, 86), "Ganga Ram the Parrot"; "The Disguised Princess"; "The King and the Fairy."
- HOLGER PEDERSEN, *Zur Albanerischen Volkskunde*. Copenhagen, 1898. (See *Folk-Lore*, ix, 344.)
- Revue des Traditions populaires*, ix, 93.
- Rivista di Letteratura Popolare*, ii, 149, "La leggenda di Sta. Cesaria"; ii, 265, "Maria Ortighitedda."
- A. SEIDEL, *Geschichten und Lieder der Africaner*. Berlin, 1896. P. 90, "Die Geschichte von einem Könige und seinen drei Töchtern"; p. 135, "Liebe bis zum Salz."
- S. SINGER, *Schweizer Märchen* (a series of comparative storiological studies on the tales in Sutermeister's collection), Parts I. and II.
- Suffolk Folk-Lore*, p. 40.
- M. WARDROP, *Georgian Folk Tales*, p. 63.
- The story of Cinderella, amongst others, is discussed in an Inaugural Dissertation, "Das Motiv von der unterschobenen Braut," von P. Arfert (Schwerin, 1897).
- I may refer those interested in the mediaeval legends upon which I touched in the preface to *Cinderella*, to *Revue de l'histoire des Religions*, xiii, 83, 215; xiv, 228 (contes russes traduits par L. Sichler); *Melusine*, ii, 309-10, 312, 392-97, 446-48; E. Schreck, *Finnische Märchen*, No. 22 (résumé by Gittée in *Rev. des Trad. pop.*, ii, 332); Edith Rickert, *Modern Philology*, ii, Chicago, 1904-05, pp. 29, 321, containing the fullest discussion of the Offalich; also to two very learned studies (for copies of which I am indebted to the author) by Dr. A. B. Gough, M.A., namely: Inaugural Dissertation "On the Middle English Metrical Romance of Emaré," Kiel, 1900. "The Constance Saga," *Palaestra*, xxiii, Berlin (Mayer & Müller), 1902.

MARIAN ROALFE COX.

OBITUARY.

IN MEMORIAM

WILLIAM WELLS NEWELL,

DIED AT WAYLAND, MASSACHUSETTS, 21ST JANUARY, 1907.

"FEW are the men whose influence upon scientific thought is so closely connected with their personality as Mr. Newell's. He was not one of those who, in their enthusiasm for facts, are likely to forget the objects which the newly-discovered data are to serve, and whose departure from the field of science comes to signify the loss of a powerful centre of activity, through whose agency many valuable treasures may have been acquired, but whose personality has disappeared behind the urgent demands of action. His was the power of directing the thoughts of students into the channels of his own mind, by means of the influence of his personality and his enthusiasm, and of increasing and directing their thirst for new information. What he achieved is not so much due to what he did, as to what he was.

"Thus it has happened that Mr. Newell, although a man of literary inclination, came to be a power in the field of anthropology. His first and most remarkable achievement, the foundation of the [American] Folklore Society, brought him into close contact, not only with the students of European folklore, of which field he himself was master, but also with the students of primitive tribes, and without assuming to become an anthropologist, he exerted a lasting influence upon many investigators. Twenty years ago, when his interests were first turned in this

direction, anthropology was almost exclusively in the hands of men originally trained in the study of natural sciences, and this determined the standpoint from which the phenomena of anthropology were viewed. Exactness of description on the one hand, the establishment of broad evolutionary principles on the other, were the guiding thoughts of students. The history of culture as a historical and truly psychological phenomenon was a thought that remained to be developed.

"Mr. Newell's interests were aroused from entirely different points of view. His studies in the histories of literature and folklore enabled him to perceive at a glance the historical elements in primitive culture, more particularly in the field of primitive lore and art, and to see that the gulf between the mental life of primitive man and civilized man, or between the mental life of races, that many students had constructed, had no existence in reality. His own artistic temper which permitted him to feel with the poet, and his human sympathy which led him to follow up the gradual spread of artistic productions among the people, together with his fund of historic knowledge, enabled him to see things that had been hidden from the eyes of anthropologists.

"To understand him aright, we must also not forget the broad humanitarian basis of his scientific interests. If it had been only the knowledge of remarkable forms of beliefs of foreign races, he might have been an interested spectator, but he would hardly have thrown as much energy into the work of inspiring students with the necessity of saving the vanishing remains of such beliefs, and of recording what still exists in full vigour. The strongest appeal to his sympathies lay in the light shed upon the fundamental values of culture by a close study of beliefs, customs, tales, and arts, of foreign races; in the ability given by this study of appreciating the strength and weaknesses of our own culture, and in its tendency to correct the overbearing self-sufficiency of modern civilization.

"He never formulated his views in writing; but in animated discussions the analogies between primitive lore and that of Europe, the need of applying well-grounded principles developed in literary research, the necessity of viewing many expressions of primitive thought as the artistic or philosophic expression

of popular ideas formulated by artists or thinkers of high rank, were with him an inexhaustible topic, and he impressed his views upon the listener by the force of the vivacity of his temperament, and of the enthusiastic reliance on the correctness of his principles.

"Thus it came to pass that he set anthropologists thinking in new lines, that he added new recruits to our ranks, and that he pressed one after another of us into his service, and thus led in the work of making room in anthropology for a broad historical view-point."

Professor FRANZ BOAS

(in the *Journal of American Folklore*, No. LXXVI., pp. 62-64).

CORRESPONDENCE.

NOTICES TO MEMBERS.

I am desired by the Council to draw attention to the fact that copies of Bishop Callaway's *Religious System of the Amazulu* may now be obtained by members of the Society from Messrs. Nutt, at the price of 10s. 6d.

I am further desired to state that gifts of books to the Society's Library will be warmly welcomed. It would, however, be advisable, in the first instance, to send me lists of any books proposed to be presented, to avoid duplicating with books already in the possession of the Society.

The Library is at present housed in the rooms of the Anthropological Institute, 3 Hanover Square.

F. A. MILNE, *Secretary*.

FOLKLORE OF ARISTOTLE.

I am preparing for publication a translation, with notes, of Aristotle's *History of Animals*, of which, at present, I am chiefly engaged on Books I., II., and III. It is obvious, from Aristotle's statements, that his information was in part obtained from fishermen, hunters, and others. Some of this information appears to represent popular beliefs of his time, and I shall feel greatly obliged to any reader of *Folk-Lore* who will kindly assist me in ascertaining to what extent such beliefs survive among the

Greeks of to-day. The passages in which popular beliefs appear to be contained, and on which information is particularly wanted, are as follows, the text employed being Schneider's Leipzig edition, 1811:

- (1) "The Sponge also seems to have some sense of feeling, an indication being that it is torn away from its support with greater difficulty, so they say, unless its removal is effected stealthily" (I. c. 1, s. 8).

Aristotle decided, apparently on evidence such as this, that the Sponge is an animal. Is the Sponge popularly believed, in the Greek area, to be a plant or an animal?

- (2) "... sneezing, the only breathing considered to be an omen and sacred" (I. c. 9, s. 4).
- (3) "Milk is also produced in men" (I. c. 10, s. 1). Again, "Milk is not produced, as a rule, in men and other male animals, still, it is produced in some, for a he-goat, in Lemnos, yielded from the two teats, near its external generative organs, so much milk that small cheeses were made from it" (III. c. 16, s. 4).
- (4) "There are a few animals with one horn and solid hoofs, as, for instance, the Indian Ass. The 'Oryx' has one horn and is cloven-footed" (II. c. 2, s. 9).

With respect to this passage, which seems to be an origin of the fabulous Unicorn, it is commonly asserted that the apparently one-horned aspect of some Antelopes, when seen in side view, probably originated the idea of the existence of animals such as the one-horned Indian Ass and the one-horned "Oryx." I have endeavoured to find an ancient sculpture or painting representing a one-horned animal, which could be reasonably identified with Aristotle's "Oryx," or his "Indian Ass," but have not succeeded. The only representation of an animal with, apparently, one horn, which I have seen, is in the 4th Egyptian Room, Case 185, Exhibit No. 1698, at the British Museum. This is a figure of an Ibex, forming the top of a wooden comb belonging to the 18th Dynasty. In this instance, the wood-carver probably knew that the Ibex has two horns, but has either carved out one only, or has carved them so close together that, as seen from the outside of the

case, the figure seems to have only one horn. Can anyone refer me to any ancient representation of an Antelope showing, in an unmistakable manner, one horn only?

- (5) "All horned animals are quadrupeds, unless metaphorically, and for want of a suitable word, an animal may be said to be horned, just as the Egyptians say that, near Thebes, there are Snakes with projections which take the place of horns" (II. c. 2, s. 11).

The last part of this passage appears to have been taken from Herodot. II. c. 74, who says, however, that the Theban sacred Snakes are small, and do not injure men. Aristotle's passage, as it stands, might refer to the Horned Viper or Cerastes, but, since the Cerastes is by no means harmless, this Snake, in its natural condition, cannot be identified with the Horned Snake of Herodotus, who seems to be Aristotle's authority. To what harmless horned Snake of small size could Herodotus refer? With reference to "horned Snakes," I may say that I have read the very interesting report from Larnaca in *Folk-Lore*, vol. xi, pp. 121-125, and the comment thereon, p. 321.

(6) Aristotle also refers, in II. c. 2, s. 10, and several other passages, to the presence of knuckle-bones, or astragali, in various animals, and makes particular reference to their elegance of form, or their ugliness, as the case may be. I should be glad of any information about the question of divination, in classical times, by means of astragali.

- (7) ". . . the Eel is neither male nor female, nor is anything produced from it. Those who assert that, at times, some Eels seem to have hair-like and worm-like bodies attached to them, without saying how they are situated, speak inconsiderately" (IV. c. 11, ss. 2 and 3). Again, "It is plain, therefore, that Eels do not reproduce sexually. To some people they seem to reproduce sexually, because, in some Eels, worms are found which these persons think give rise to Eels. This is not true, but Eels are produced from the so-called 'entrails of the earth,' which are formed spontaneously in mud and moist earth" (VI. c. 15, ss. 1 and 2).

- (8) "There is a small rock-fish, called by some the 'Eche-neis,' and sometimes used in judicial proceedings (*dike*), and as love-charms. It is not edible. Some say that it has feet, although it has none, but appears to have them, because its fins are like feet" (II. c. 10, s. 3). The fish referred to in this passage seems to be a Goby.
- (9) "All animals, when alive, have worms in their heads, these worms being produced in the cavity beneath the tongue, and in the region of the first cervical vertebra; the worms are not smaller than very large maggots, closely crowded, and not less than twenty in number" (II. c. 11, s. 6).
- (10) "All Snakes have sharp, interlocking teeth, and as many ribs as there are days in a month, viz. thirty. Some say that Snakes resemble young Swallows in one respect, for they say that the eyes of Snakes grow again, after anyone has pierced them" (II. c. 12, s. 12).

I should be grateful for any information respecting the folklore of the Greek area, which would assist in elucidating these passages.

T. EAST LONES.

Dudley House,
Upper Highway, King's Langley.

OPENING WINDOWS TO AID THE RELEASE OF THE SOUL.

"Der natürliche Mensch öffnete sonst sogar das Fenster, damit die entschwebende Seele hinaus könne." (G. Th. Fechner, *Tages- und Nacht-Ansicht*; Leipzig, 1879; p. 41.)

I should be interested to hear of localities where this death-bed custom is, or has been, observed.

H. KRESS.

[The custom of opening windows or doors to facilitate the departure of the soul is reported to exist in Germany, France, and Spain. In Great Britain it has been noted in North-East

Scotland, the Scottish Borders, Gloucestershire, Devonshire, Sussex, etc. Henderson, *Northern Counties*, p. 36; Gregor, *North-East Scotland*, p. 206; *Folk-Lore Record*, vol. i, pp. 60, 102; *Choice Notes (Folk Lore)*, pp. 117, 118. Ed.]

BURIAL OF AMPUTATED LIMBS.

(*Supra*, p. 82.)

I knew of a similar case many years ago in Valentia, Co. Kerry. After a great deal of trouble the local doctor persuaded a man to have his leg amputated. His friends claimed the leg for burial and held a wake over it; some of the whisky provided for the occasion was smuggled into the hospital for the patient to *wake his own leg*.

A. C. HADDON.

SERPENT-PROCESSION AT COCULLO.

(*Supra*, p. 187.)

S. Domenico of Cocullo was born at Foligno in Umbria in 950 and died at Sora, Jan. 22, 1031. He belonged to the Order of S. Benedict, and founded several monasteries in the valleys and mountains of the Abruzzi. Tradition relates that he once stopped at Cocullo and left a tooth there as a token of protection and preservation from hydrophobia, the bites of poisonous serpents, and toothache.

LORETO MARCHIONE,
(*Arch. Priest of Cocullo*).

REVIEWS.

THE METHOD OF PITT-RIVERS.

THE EVOLUTION OF CULTURE AND OTHER ESSAYS, by the late Lt.-Gen. A. Lane-Fox Pitt-Rivers. Edited by J. L. Myres, with an Introduction by Henry Balfour, 232 pp. 21 pls. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1906. 7s. 6d. net.

FROM the beginning of the second half of the nineteenth century, evolution was, so to speak, "in the air." As Professor Tylor (*Researches into the Early History of Mankind on the Development of Civilization*, 1865; *Primitive Culture*, 1871), applied the evolutionary method to the thoughts and customs of mankind, so Colonel Lane-Fox (afterwards Lt.-General Pitt-Rivers) applied them to the handicrafts of man. Originally he investigated the evolution of firearms, and was led to believe that the same principle of extremely gradual changes, whereby improvements were effected, probably governed the development of the other arts, appliances, and ideas of mankind. We are told that as early as 1851 (that is eight years before the publication of the first edition of *The Origin of Species*), with characteristic energy and scientific zeal, he began to illustrate his views, and to put them to a practical test; but it was not till 1867 that he published the first of his three epoch-making essays on "Primitive Warfare." These were followed in 1874 by papers read before the Anthropological Institute on the "Principles of Classification" and "Early Modes of Navigation"; the final paper of the series "On the Evolution of Culture," was read before the Royal Institution in 1875. There are many students who have been influenced

indirectly by the investigations and hypotheses of Pitt-Rivers (to give him the name by which he will be known to posterity) who have not actually read his papers; it was, therefore, a happy idea of our Oxford colleagues to take the opportunity of the establishing of a diploma in Anthropology in the University of Oxford to republish them in a convenient form, in order to supply the needs of candidates and of the numerous visitors to the Pitt-Rivers Museum in Oxford; and they are right in considering that they will "appeal to a far wider public as a brief and authentic statement of their author's discoveries."

The volume opens with an Introduction by Mr. Henry Balfour, which also formed the main portion of his Presidential Address to the Anthropological Section of the Cambridge Meeting of the British Association in 1904. No one is better fitted to expound the views of the founder than is the present Curator of the Pitt-Rivers Museum, who not only continues and extends the original collections, but has published several model papers on similar lines based upon careful investigations and upon the specimens with which he has enriched the Museum. Mr. Balfour, in his exposition of the methods of Pitt-Rivers, warns us that "it must not be supposed that he was unaware of the danger of possibly mistaking mere accidental resemblances for morphological affinities, and that he assumed that because two objects, perhaps from widely separated regions, appeared more or less identical in form, and possibly in use, they were necessarily to be considered as members of one phylogenetic group. . . . The association of similar forms into the same series has, therefore, a double significance. On the one hand, the sequence of related forms is brought out, and their geographical distribution illustrated, throwing light, not only upon the evolution of types, but also upon the interchange of ideas by transference from one people to another, and even upon the migration of races. On the other hand, instances in which two or more peoples have arrived independently at similar results, are brought prominently forward, not merely as interesting coincidences, but also as evidence pointing to the phylogenetic unity of the human species, as exemplified by the tendency

of human intelligence to evolve independently identical ideas when the conditions are themselves identical. Polygenesis in his inventions may probably be regarded as testimony in favour of the monogenesis of Man." These remarks are as applicable to folklore as they are to technology.

Very wisely, the essays have been reprinted substantially as they were first delivered and published, only verbal errors and actual misquotations having been corrected. On the other hand, one cannot help feeling that the editor would have done well, either from his own store of learning or with the help of others, to have drawn attention in footnotes to statements which do not represent the present state of our knowledge. To take a very few examples, there is no evidence for supposing a relation between the coil and broken coil ornaments of New Zealand and New Guinea, still less that they "were probably derived from Assam" (p. 15). A zoologist experiences a sensation of pain when he reads of an "armadillo" in East Africa (p. 66). A note might have been added of the occurrence of a curved missile stick among the Hopi (p. 131). An additional argument in favour of the view "that the wamera preceded the bow" (p. 133) may be found in bone spear-throwers of palæolithic age from French caves. Reference might have been given to the considerable amount of work that has been done of recent years concerning the "Copper Age" (p. 157 ff.), the same also applies to the distribution of spirals (p. 172). As no references are given to more recent literature, readers who are ignorant of all that has been done on these lines during the last quarter of a century will be inclined to take the suggestions of Pitt-Rivers as the final word on any subject. At all events a note of warning should have been made by the editor.

Perhaps I may be permitted a personal allusion. Somewhere about 1878, either just before or after I had taken my degree, I came across, I cannot remember how, an illustrated account of an evolutionary series by Lane-Fox, of which my zoological, embryological, and palæontological studies at once enabled me to appreciate the importance. It was not till a decade later that the opportunity occurred for me to contribute anything

on the same lines, and I shall never forget the pleasure it was to me to trace the degeneration of a human-face design on the canoes of Torres Straits. Nor shall I readily forget the thrill which I experienced when I first visited the Pitt-Rivers Museum at Oxford, and every visit that I have since paid has resulted in stimulation and information. It is, therefore, with much pleasure that I, in common with so many colleagues, acknowledge the scientific acumen and indefatigable energy of the Founder of Comparative and Evolutionary Technology.

ALFRED C. HADDON.

ADONIS, ATTIS, OSIRIS. By J. G. FRAZER, D.C.L., LL.D.,
Litt.D. Macmillan & Co. 1906.

DESTINED to form part of the third edition of *The Golden Bough*, this book has all the characteristic merits of that vast work. The greatness of the author's erudition is concealed by a vivid and fascinating style which, especially in the descriptions of the scenery of Asia Minor, reaches a high order of merit. On the other hand, it must be admitted not to be free of the main defects of *The Golden Bough*, a certain lack of discrimination in weighing evidence, and a tendency to draw important conclusions from scraps of evidence utterly insufficient to bear the structure reared upon them.

This tendency appears very clearly in the most novel part of the book, the attempt to show that in the rituals of Adonis, Attis, and Osiris, the place of the god was at one time regularly taken by the king, who was put to death in order that the god, by casting off his old body, might regain his strength. This is a serious proposition, and marks a considerable advance on primitive conceptions of the corn-spirit. It is no doubt true that many peoples have held that at harvest-time the corn-spirit may pass into a man, and in some—we need not suppose in the majority—of the cases, have gone so far as to kill the human incarnation of the spirit, in order to make the corn grow well in the coming year. But a great gulf lies between this

primitive custom and the annual sacrifice of a king-priest. By the time that Adonis, Attis, or Osiris had become the gods of communities, and bore these names, and received the ministrations of priests, they had long ceased to be mere corn or vegetation spirits, and it was no longer easy to regard the priest as the temporary incarnation of the corn-spirit.

Now, in fact, the evidence for any such death of the priest-king in these cults is the weakest possible (see pp. 12, 29, 34, 38, 85, 182, 314). In the case of Adonis it consists of the stories of the burning of Sardanapalus, Croesus, Dido, the son of Mesha of Moab, and of Hamilcar, and the walking of the king of Tyre amidst the stones of fire which Ezekiel records, as compared with the burning in effigy of Melcarth at Tyre and Gades, and of Sandan at Tarsus. But whether we regard the burning of an effigy of the god as a sun-spell, as is perhaps most probable, —the connection of the lion with Melcarth and Sandan is significant (see *J.H.S.*, 1901, pp. 149, 161)—or as merely purificatory (see pp. 100, 151), the mere use of an effigy proves nothing. Mesha burned his son, as did the Carthaginians their children, as the greatest sacrifice he could offer to an offended god. In the case of Sardanapalus, Croesus, and Hamilcar, we have no doubt the same idea, probably combined with the conception that fire purifies the soul and bears it to the gods. The Dido story points to no more than the burning of an effigy, and it is not easy to see how the widespread practice of walking unharmed over cinders can be derived from a practice of burning alive. Further, it should be noted that we have no satisfactory evidence that the kings who worshipped Adonis were his priests, or deemed themselves incarnations of the god, or considered their children as gods. Dr. Frazer's evidence (p. 32) for this rests on accepting as descriptions of the descent of the bearers such names as Abi-baal, but this conjecture is as improbable as it is ingenious. Moreover, a king may claim descent from a god, as did Mesha, without thereby meaning that the godhead is in him incarnate, however much sanctity he may derive from his origin.

In the case of Attis, the evidence is still less convincing. To find a royalty bearing the name of Attis, utterly unknown

in Phrygia, recourse has to be had to Atys of Lydia. To find a slain priest, appeal is made to a conjecture of Professor Ramsay's that the priest of Cybele named Attis was probably slain each year. From the story of Marsyas is deduced that the form of death was hanging, and from the "Havá-mal" verses, where Odin claims to have won his divine power by hanging for nine nights on the gallows dedicated to himself, that the hanged man was also a god. It is obvious that the "Havá-mal" proves nothing for actual ritual, and is merely a piece of speculation of the kind so frequent in the Brahmanas, which, however, are not yet seriously quoted as evidence in such cases. The Marsyas legend is probably a record of a very old vegetation-ritual, but it has nothing to do with the slaying of a king. Marsyas is no prince or priest, and the story proves no more than the occasional slaying of the human embodiment of the corn-spirit. For Osiris we have nothing save the interpretation of the Sed festival given by Prof. Flinders Petrie, as to which it is perhaps enough to say that it rests on the acceptance of the theory here discussed, and cannot be extracted from the record without the use of very considerable imagination.

While we cannot accept Dr. Frazer's pet theory of the annual hanging of a man-god on the sacred tree, we readily accept the proofs he brings forward for showing that the gods whose character he discusses were vegetation-spirits. That is not to say that they were merely such spirits, or originally deities of vegetation. Attis seems, from the evidence cited by Dr. Frazer himself (p. 179), to have been a Phrygian Zeus, who may, like Zeus himself (see Cook, *Class. Rev.*, 1903), have acquired vegetative functions, or have been syncretised with a vegetation deity. Melcarth and Sandan have characteristics of sun-gods, and in the case of Osiris we incline to accept the view that the god was originally the sun, the importance of whose worship in the Mediterranean has been recently established by Dr. Evans (*J.H.S.*, 1901). This view explains, quite as well as Dr. Frazer's theory, the mourning for the god at the summer solstice (p. 228); and the nocturnal festival of Sais, instead of being a feast of all souls (p. 241), shows signs of being a sun-spell in the use of illumination and in the symbolism of the golden sun

between the horns of the Isis-cow. The yellow face of the image of Osiris in the feast in the month Choiak, and the use of a mould of gold, point to the same fact, and we may suggest as an alternative to Dr. Frazer's readjustment of the Egyptian festivals (pp. 263-267) that there were really two festivals which tended, as usual in Egypt, to syncretise, one in November, the season of sowing, and one at the winter solstice, originally a sun-spell like the Mahavrata of the Vedic ritual.

Dr. Frazer remains a convinced adherent of matriarchy, signs of which he sees in the predominance of the goddess in the cults in question, and from which he explains the marriage of sister and brother, long usual in Egypt, and also the legends (p. 28) of incest by kings. In the latter case, it is significant that Erechtheus and Clymenus are among the guilty. The legends, we think, are nothing more than echoes of the cosmic incest of heaven and earth familiar in Vedic and other mythologies. That female deities mean matriarchy is most improbable (see Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, iv., 110), and under patriarchy sister-marriage might be regarded as the best form of marriage, in that it gave the greatest purity of blood, and prevented the waste of the family property in the purchase of a wife for the son, or of a husband for the daughter. For Semites and Phrygians, matriarchy remains a most improbable hypothesis.

Of the many other problems suggested by Dr. Frazer, it must suffice to note his view of Hyacinth as a hero (p. 207; see Farnell, iv., 264), and the theory that the blood used in purification from murder is accepted as a substitute for the blood of the slayer, with which should be compared the much more probable view of Dr. Farnell (iv., 304) that the blood is that of a sacred animal, and so confers community and friendship with the angry god of the earth and lower world. Nor do we think it possible to accept the theory (p. 97) that the Sardon-Hercules of Lydia was a Hittite god, or that this people were akin to the primitive stock of Asia Minor (cf. p. 17). The facts available show similar religious conceptions all over Asia Minor, and probably generally in the Mediterranean area, and the worship should be assigned, if to any people in particular, to

the Mediterranean race. So far as it goes, the linguistic evidence tends more and more to prove that the Hittites were an offshoot of the Aryan race; and it would be quite legitimate, on Dr. Frazer's authority, to cite as Aryan their worship of the bull (p. 47).

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY: TODD LECTURE SERIES: Vol. ix.
 E. GWYNN: THE METRICAL DINDSCHENCHAS, part ii,—
 Vol. xiii. K. MEYER: THE TRIADS OF IRELAND.—Vol. xiv.
 K. MEYER: THE DEATH TALES OF THE ULSTER HEROES.
 Dublin: Hodges, Figgis & Co., 1906.

THE foregoing volumes are all valuable contributions to our knowledge of early Irish literature, the interest of which, as I need scarcely remind readers of this journal, lies in the fact that it is the oldest post-classic European literature, and that it has preserved for us a considerable mass of themes and incidents very slightly, if at all affected by the Christian classic culture which has so profoundly influenced all the great modern literatures. To the student who wishes to get away from and behind that culture, Irish literature is one of the chief sources of information. It follows, however, that in regard to any freshly published Irish text one of the first questions that arises is to what extent it is independent of, and older than, the Christian classic tradition. For some time to come critical analysis must hold the first place in the discussion of new Irish material.

Professor Meyer's *Triads of Ireland* will be a revelation to many familiar, by repute, with the Welsh Triadic literature. Here again dependence of Wales upon Ireland, probable in other branches of literature, seems most probable. Professor Meyer has omitted all comparison between his texts and the better known Welsh collections. I would suggest to some member of this Society, Miss Faraday for instance, that a comparative study of these two bodies of gnomic wisdom together with such Northern examples as Havá-Mal, would be equally interesting and valuable.

Professor Meyer dates the collection he prints from the middle of the ninth century. The bulk of the 256 numbers which it comprises are gnomic, but it is significant that the first 56 numbers are in the nature of *mirabilia*, are topographical in character, and are closely connected with the heroic sagas and ecclesiastical legends, which form such a large part of early Irish literature. The following may be cited as a characteristic example of early Irish wisdom :

"Three slender things that best support the world ; the slender stream of milk from the cow's dug into the pail ; the slender blade of green corn upon the ground, the slender thread over the hand of a skilled woman."

Professor Meyer notes that the triad is only one of "several enumerative sayings common in Irish literature," and he believes that the "model upon which these were formed is to be sought in the enumerative sayings of Hebrew poetry, to be found in several books of the Old Testament." I cannot at all agree. Professor Meyer recognises that "triads occur sporadically in the literature of most nations . . . but I am not aware that this kind of composition has ever attained the same popularity elsewhere as in Wales and Ireland." Precisely. But then, assuming for one moment the correctness of the theory that makes Celtic dependent upon Hebrew literature in this respect, the question surely arises why the Celts alone should have developed the Triadic form. *Proverbs* and *Ecclesiastes* were as open to Italians and Frenchmen, to Englishmen and Germans, as to Irishmen and Welshmen. But the latter have a Triadic literature, the former have not. Why? Professor Meyer mentions, only, however, to reject: "the idea that the Triad owes its origin to the effect of the doctrine of the Trinity upon the Celtic imagination." He does right, in my opinion, to reject this idea, but does it not point towards the true solution of the problem? Was not the doctrine of the Trinity commended to the Irish wise men precisely because it fell into the mould of their own traditional wisdom? In using the shanrock illustration was not Patrick adapting himself, as a successful teacher must, to the intellectual habits of his hearers? As a matter of fact we know, what Professor Meyer should

surely have noted, that the scanty remains of Greek information concerning the Celts do testify to the existence of Celtic Triads long before any Celtic people could have come in contact with Hebrew wisdom. The weakness of Professor Meyer's theory of origin is most apparent when one turns to the alleged Hebrew originals. The *Book of Proverbs* is the chief source; but, as most readers of *Folk-Lore* are certainly aware, the vast bulk of the sentences contained therein (at least 98 per cent.) are not triadic in form. There are not more than half a dozen genuine triads in the whole book (and these, strange to say, are not quoted by Professor Meyer), besides a certain number which are really tetrads: "there are three things . . . and four things." Now this latter form not only produces a very striking literary effect, but the sayings which are cast in it are among the most memorable, and are certainly the best-remembered, of the collection. Why should the Irish have neglected the duad form of the vast majority of the Hebrew sentences, have neglected the impressive tetrad form, have fastened upon just the half a dozen inconspicuous examples of the Triad? Why, indeed, unless that form were already familiar to them?

Professor Meyer further refers to a collection entitled *Proverbia Grecorum*, Greek sayings translated into Latin before the seventh century by, as their editor conjectures, an Irish scholar in Ireland. If this conjecture is correct, and Professor Meyer approves it, I hold that it strongly supports the native Irish origin of the triadic form. For this is almost unknown to the bulk of Greek proverbs, and if we find it largely represented in a version due to an Irish scholar, it can only be because the latter recast the Greek sayings in a form familiar to himself.

I note, lest it might escape the attention of students of the Ossianic cycle, that in No. 236, a "marvel" triad, the first wonder contains a quatrain from an Ossianic poem. If this number belongs to the original collection ascribed by Professor Meyer to the ninth century, this is one of the earliest testimonies to the saga of Finn and his warriors. The second and third marvels are examples of the "kelpie" belief; the lake monster in early Ireland has the same characteristics as in living Gaelic peasant belief.

I warmly commend the volume, the price of which is only 2s. 6d., to the attention of all folk-lorists.

Professor Gwynn's *Metrical Dindschenchas*, part ii., is, in reality, his third publication devoted to these poems, the importance of which, for Irish myth and saga, is so great. As will be remembered, it was in the pages of *Folk-Lore* that any considerable mass of the prose Dindschenchas was first made public by Dr. Whitley Stokes. Until all the metrical forms have been published, it would be unsafe to dogmatise concerning the relations between verse and prose, but I may say that so far as the materials for comparison are available, they negative, in my opinion, the hypothesis that the existing prose collection is based upon or represents a verse one of equal extent, of which the *Book of Leinster* poems are the surviving fragments. Of the eighteen poems contained in the present volume, three are ascribed to the well-known tenth-century poet, Cinaed úa Hartacán. I would direct the special attention of students interested in the Etain story to a poem of Cinaed's (LL 209, 625), referred to by Professor Gwynn, p. 95, and a translation of which I owe to his kindness, in view of its bearing upon the remarkable fragments of the missing opening of the legend printed by Dr. Stern (*Zeitschrift für Celt. Philologie* vol. v., pp. 522-534), and commented upon by myself (*Revue Celtique*, vol. xxvii., pp. 325-339).

It is, however, the third of the above-mentioned three volumes that brings out most prominently the interest of Irish material for folk-lorists and the complexity of the problems it raises. Among the five tales edited and translated by Professor Meyer, I would single out those of the deaths of Conchobor and Celtchar. The former has been the best known hitherto of these stories, but the printing of all available versions throws new light upon the problems involved. As is well known, the death of the famous Ulster king is brought into connection with that of Christ, thus affording, perhaps, the most marked example of the wide prevailing Irish tendency to save the kings and heroes who were so dear to the native heart, by associating them in some way with the new faith. The texts, which have transmitted the story to us, contain at least three, if not more, varying

accounts, two of which at least, vouched for by twelfth-century MSS., are obvious efforts to bring an existing story into accord with what the scribe knew of Roman history in the time of Christ. As it stands, the story falls into two parts: the wounding of Conchobor by the Connaught champion Cet with the brain-ball of the Leinster chief Mesgegra, in consequence of which he remained for seven years in a state of invalidism; his death when, angered at the tidings of Christ's crucifixion, he neglects the physician's warning, exerts himself violently, the brain-ball starts from his head, and he dies. Now one of the latest of the MSS. containing the story has preserved a poem by Cinaed úa Hartacán (who died in 975), which gives the history of the Mesgegra brain-ball. After Conchobor's death it seems to have remained hidden until its existence was revealed by the King of Heaven to Buite mac Bróhaig, abbot of Monasterboice (who died *circa* 520). "Since Bute with grace of fame has slept upon thee (*i.e.* the brain-ball) without treachery, the hosts have eagerly humbled themselves, until thou changedst colour, O stone," says the poet. Now Cinaed's verses (dating as they must do from the tenth century) presuppose the story as it is found in the Book of Leinster (twelfth century) and later MSS., but, obscure and tortuously allusive as they are, are quite incapable of having originated it. They alone, however, enable us to divine its genesis and development. Early in the sixth century a stone, hallowed by traditional association with the famous Ulster king, was annexed by a partisan of the new faith, and thereafter acquired fresh virtue and credit. Concerning the king there was a tradition of a seven years' death-in-life trance, a theme found elsewhere in Irish tradition, *e.g.* in connection with Nuada of the silver hand and with Cuchullin, and undoubtedly in my opinion of mythical significance and origin. Some coalescence of the two stories took place, and, the Christianisation of Bute's aforetime pagan stone combining with the desire to preserve Conchobor from the fate to which a purely Pagan king would be liable, the existing story arose and grew. But, it may be asked, how could Mesgegra's brain-ball, an object that could be slung from a sling, and obtain lodgment in a mortal skull, an object no

bigger, one would think, than a golf or tennis ball, serve as "Bute's pillow," to use the poet's words? Well, the very text which has preserved Cinaed's poem, has also preserved a short poem by the eleventh-century Flann Manistrech, in which gigantic stature is attributed to the old saga heroes; the length of Conchobor was seventy-three feet, of Tadg mac Céin (a famous third-century Munster chief), fifty feet. To my knowledge this is the earliest precise allusion in Irish literature to the giant size of the men of the heroic age, a conception widely spread throughout the Ossianic literature of the thirteenth and following centuries, but quite absent, at least stated in express terms, from the Ulster heroic sagas themselves. I conceive that it may possibly be the outcome of traditional connection between the racial heroes and the Megalithic monuments; the euhemerising antiquaries, of whom Flann is an excellent type, argued from the size of the quoits, wash-pots, whetstones, etc., which folk-fancy assigned to the heroes, that the latter must have been giants.

Still more interesting is the Celtchar death story. We learn that Blai of Ulster, a keeper of one of the guest-houses famous in Irish saga, was under *geis* to exercise the *droit du seigneur* on every woman who came to his guest-house unless her husband were in her company. Celtchar's wife, who seems to have been a mischief-maker, went alone to Blai. Celtchar, incensed at the wrong done him, pursued Blai even to the royal house, where Conchobor and Cuchullin were playing at *fidchell*, and speared him, so that a drop of the blood fell on the *fidchell* board. The drop being nearer Conchobor, it fell to the king to take vengeance. Meanwhile, Celtchar escaped to the Munster Déisi. The Ulster warriors were greatly troubled; it was bad enough losing Blai without having strife with the Déisi. The king suggests that Celtchar's son should go for his father, and be his safeguard, "for at that time, with the men of Ulster, a father's crime was not laid upon his son, nor a son's crime upon his father." Celtchar is very indignant at this move; his son ought to be kept out of the affair altogether, and in any case cannot, he feels, be a satisfactory safeguard for him. However, he returns, and has it laid upon him to free Ulster

from the three worst pests that would come in his time. Conganchness, brother of Curoi (slain by Cuchullin, as is told in another story), comes to avenge the latter, "he devastated Ulster greatly; spears or swords hurt him not, but sprang from him as from horn." In his extremity Conchobor calls upon Celtchar. The latter offers his daughter to Conganchness, and she beguiles the latter into revealing how alone he may be slain. Thus was the first pest overcome. The second was the Dun Mouse, found by the widow's son in the hollow of an oak, and reared by the widow till big; then it turned upon the widow, slew her sheep and kine, herself and her son, and, thereafter, every night would devastate a *liss* in Ulster. Celtchar boils a log of alder in honey and fat until it was soft and tough; armed therewith he seeks the Dun Mouse's lair, and when the monster fixes its teeth in the tough wood, Celtchar passes his hand through the log and takes out its heart through its jaws. A year after three whelps are found in the cairn in which Conganchness was buried;¹ one was given to Mac Datho, and figures in the story of Mac Datho's Boar; one, Ailbe, was given to Culand the Smith; and one, Doelchu, was retained by Celtchar. But one day it was let out, and every night it would destroy a living creature in Ulster. Conchobor calls upon Celtchar to destroy this third pest. The latter obeys, slays it with his famous venomous spear, the *luin*, but in raising the spear a drop of the hound's blood runs along down, goes through him, and he dies.

Now here we have three or four well-known folk-tale themes set in the framework of the Ulster heroic cycle. At what time did this take place? The story *must*, be it noted, be pre-twelfth century, as it is contained in the Book of Leinster. Can we trace it farther back? One of the three whelps of the Dun Mouse, Ailbe, was, we have seen, given to Culand the Smith. Now, Culand's hound is well known from the tale of Cuchullin's Boyish Exploits, embedded in the oldest version of the *Táin bó Cuailgne*, in which it is killed by that hero

¹The implication, I have no doubt, although it is not expressed in the story, is that the Dun Mouse is in reality an avatar of Conganchness, come back in this form to avenge his slaying by treachery.

when only seven years of age. The scribe of the eleventh century MS., the Book of the Dun Cow, comments that Culand's hound cannot have been one of the three sprung from Conganchness' cairn; the latter's death, he justly remarks, happened long after the *Táin* in which Cuchullin is stated to be seventeen years old, and, therefore, necessarily long after the latter's slaying of Culand's hound which he asserts, moreover, came from Spain.

From these facts the following inferences may, I think, be fairly drawn. There were independent stories connected with Ailbe, one associating him with Celtchar and Culand, one with Culand and Cuchullin; the latter, owing to its inclusion in the *Táin*, became the more famous. But the other continued to be told and copied in spite of its inconsistency with that systematisation of the saga chronology which took place after, some time in the seventh century, the *Táin* assumed substantially its present form, and attracted to itself a number of other Ulster sagas. That the Celtchar death-story was not thus attracted and modified affords strong presumption that, substantially, it antedates the literary fixation of the *Táin* in the seventh century. And in this case the folk-tale themes in question must be far older on Irish soil. They may be added to the score of such themes which I have already detected in pre-eleventh century Irish saga literature. And, like the majority of the other instances, they occur in such a way as to preclude the hypothesis of recent alien origin.

ALFRED NUTT.

THOMAS' "ROMAN DE TRISTAN." Edited by JOSEPH BÉDIER.
2 vols. 1902, 1905. (Société des Anciens Textes Français.)

THE publications of the *Société des Anciens Textes Français*, excellent as they are, appeal as a rule to but a limited circle. If M. Bédier's edition of the *Tristan* makes a wider claim, the reason is to be found less in the merit of the work, though

that is great, than in the intensely human interest of the subject-matter. Thanks to the genius of Richard Wagner, we have learnt at last to recognise the legend of Tristan and Iseult as one of the world's great stories, the supreme love-tale of literature. M. Bédier, with true French insight, lays his finger on the reason—the legend deals with two enduring facts of life, Love and Sorrow. Tristan and Iseult are not the lovers of that lax social order which found expression in the Courts of Love, but belong to a stage wherein marriage is looked upon as indissoluble, and illicit passion, even though it be decreed by Fate, a shame and a sorrow. Neither of the lovers ever suggests cutting the Gordian knot by flight; they deceive Mark, steadily and persistently, and though at the moment they rejoice in the success of each deception, their joy is mixed with sorrow: “ils souffrent de leurs triomphes même.” “Ceux-là seuls peuvent fonder tout un poème sur la loi sociale hostile à l’amour, qui connaissent une loi sociale fortement impérative, rigide et dure.” We think M. Bédier is right in his contention that it is this underlying, fate-compelling background which gives to the story of Tristan its enduring force and charm.

Whence came this wonderful tale? Here lies the special interest for English readers. The poem, the fragments of which M. Bédier has edited, and the main contents of which he has, by the help of the translations, ingeniously essayed to restore, was written in England in Anglo-Norman. Whether Thomas was a Briton (he quotes the Welshman, Bréri, or Bleheris, as his source), or of Anglo-French birth, we cannot tell, but he was a writer of great skill and charm, a little over-fond, perhaps, of analysing the feelings of his characters, but undoubtedly a true poet.

Unfortunately we possess only fragments of his work. Of these by far the most important is that preserved in the Douce collection at Oxford. There is a second at Cambridge, and a third in the possession of a private collector at Turin. When M. Francisque Michel published his edition of the poems relative to Tristan (1835-39) he had access to two other fragments—one, in the Strasburg Library, perished in the flames of *l'année terrible*; the other, the property of the Rev. Walter

Sneyd, cannot now be traced. All these represent, with some overlapping, the latter part of the poem alone; of by far the greater part M. Bédier has only been able to make a conjectural restoration, by the aid of the extant translations. Here we are fortunate; we have not only the English *Sir Tristrem* and the Scandinavian *Tristan-Saga*, but also the fine *Tristan* of Gottfried von Strassbourg, which, left unfinished, by a happy chance carries us precisely to the point where the original fragments begin.

M. Bédier devotes the first volume of his work to this reconstruction; in the second he enquires into the sources from which Thomas has drawn his poem. This second volume, written with an intimate knowledge of the subject, the fruit of many years' study, and with a grace and charm of style worthy of the best traditions of French scholarship, will have most interest for the general reader, while at the same time it raises questions of extreme importance for the critic. In M. Bédier's opinion all the extant versions of the *Tristan* legend, the work of Thomas and his translators, the poems of Béroul and Eilhart von Oberg, the two versions of the *Folie Tristan*, and the prose Romance, derive ultimately from one and the same source. That source was a poem superior alike in psychology and construction to any of its derivatives. The name of the author of this poetical *chef d'œuvre* has perished, but M. Bédier suggests that he probably lived in the first years of the Norman Conquest.

The theory is very fascinating and very tempting to our *amour propre*. The late M. Gaston Paris, who finally accepted this view, was decidedly of opinion that this proto-*Tristan* was English; but we must own that the comparative analysis of the incidents does not appear to us to point in this direction. We do not think M. Bédier has attached sufficient weight to the reference to Bréri. He admits that Bréri is identical with the Bleheris twice referred to in the *Perceval* as authority for stories connected with Gawain. Now in each case the story is a short episodic recital, not in any sense an elaborate poem. If Bréri was the authoritative source for the *Tristan* legend, and Thomas distinctly says he was, then that legend was not

in the form of an elaborate and psychological poem. Again, is it possible that the incident of the surrender of Iseult to the lepers, an incident unparalleled in all Mediaeval literature for sheer unredeemed brutality, is a part of the same tradition as that which has preserved the gracious touch of Mark shielding his sleeping and fugitive wife from the rays of the sun? It seems more probable that there were from the first two distinct streams of tradition, in one of which Mark was a gentle, kindly figure, loth to believe ill of those he loved so dearly, and ready, even to weakness, to be convinced of their innocence; another in which he was cowardly, vindictive, and treacherous—the version followed by Thomas belongs undoubtedly to the former. Nor does M. Bédier quite grasp the problem of the messenger who summons Iseult to her lover's death-bed. What does Tristan need with a "host" there, where he is in his own home? The disappearance of Governal, who certainly ought to be the messenger, from the closing scenes of the poem, is a point difficult of explanation, and which should not be ignored.

Tempting as the theory is, we feel ourselves unable to accept the view so ably urged in these volumes; but nevertheless M. Bédier has given us a piece of work of great interest and real literary value, one which no future writer on English literature can afford to neglect.

JESSIE L. WESTON.

AT THE BACK OF THE BLACK MAN'S MIND; OR, NOTES ON THE KINGLY OFFICE IN WEST AFRICA. By R. E. DENNETT, Author of "Notes on the Folk-Lore of the Fjort," etc. Macmillan & Co., 1906.

THIS is a most perplexing book. At first sight it seems a jumble of unrelated facts, and of speculations which one is tempted to class, with M. Van Gennep,¹ as *dignes de la Kabàle*. The disjointed and fragmentary character of some chapters—which

¹ *Revue des Idées*, 15 Jan., 1907; "Un système nègre de classification."

are, in fact, mere collections of undigested notes—adds to the difficulty of grasping the author's reasoning. Indeed, I am by no means sure that I have grasped it; but his reasoning is to be carefully distinguished from his facts, and these—so far as apparent from his by no means lucid presentation—are certainly valuable. His main contention, we gather, is that "concurrent with fetishism or Jujism, there is in Africa a religion giving us a much higher conception of God than is generally acknowledged by writers on African modes of thought." This religion, to which Mr. Dennett gives the name of *Nkicism*, has, he thinks, been overlaid by *Ndongoism* (equivalent to what is usually understood by witchcraft and fetishism), and in great part forgotten. It was handed down in connection with certain formulae embodying what may be called a system of philosophy, theology, and ethics, which were taught to the people by their kings (Maloango) in the sacred groves. Much of this traditional law has evidently been lost, and the kingly office itself has fallen from its ancient estate. Maloango, the paramount chief of the Bavili tribes in Loango, was once tributary, along with Kakongo, to the Ntotela, or King of Kongo (São Salvador), but has been virtually independent for the last three hundred years—at least till the French took over the country in 1883. The present chief, however, was never officially crowned,—a fact which, for various reasons, is to be deplored. But the bearing of these matters on native administration—not the least important of the issues raised by Mr. Dennett—does not come within the scope of this notice.

As we shall have occasion to point out later on, Mr. Dennett has failed to employ his excellent linguistic knowledge to the best advantage, for want of such acquaintance with other Bantu languages as would have enabled him to employ the comparative method. In the same way, one fancies, he does not perceive the real bearing and connection of many of his facts; which, indeed, I must confess, left me in a state of helpless bewilderment, till, fortunately, I lit on the clue supplied by M. Van Gennep, viz. MM. Durkheim and Mauss' article in *L'Année Sociologique* for 1903. This places the Bavili "Categories" (p. 108) in their true light as elementary attempts at classifying

the phenomena of the visible universe. Here, as in the other cases, the Australians, who possess—or till recently possessed—in a fairly complete form, customs and institutions which, among the Bantu, have fallen into decay, can elucidate many obscure points in our study of the latter. We are apt to forget that a classification of genera and species, and a sequence of cause and effect, which seem to us perfectly simple and obvious, are by no means so to children or savages. Even a person with no special scientific training would never suppose that a man could turn into a hyena, or that a leopard could become the parent of a crocodile, nor would he find it easy to realise the mental attitude of people to whom these things would seem quite natural. The leopard, says Mr. Dennett, "is looked upon as the mother of all animals [and] we cannot be wrong in saying that she is descended from Zambì through Xikamaci [Chikamasi] and her offspring Xikanga and Nxiluka, who are said to be the parents of an animal and a wooden figure" (p. 145).

Later on (p. 152), we read: "Zambìci, in some of the stories, is spoken of as the mother of all animals, as if she were the immediate mother rather than the creator. This confusion is natural to degenerate people, who are apt to mistake the intermediate causes for the first cause." This is surely reversing the order of things. Such a conception belongs rather to a primitive than a degenerate stage of thought.

Mr. Dennett has not republished the etymological speculations of "The Bavili Alphabet Restored" (*African Society's Journal*, October, 1905), and I cannot help thinking, with M. Van Gennep, that he has been well advised. At the same time, it seems most probable that, as the last-named writer points out (*Revue des Idées*, Jan. 15, 1907), the "Categories" may give us the clue to the real meaning of the Bantu noun-classes, which some students were inclined to rank with things impossible to be known, while others seemed to lose themselves in fantastic conjectures. The statement that the first class contains nouns signifying persons, and the second names of trees, and so on, did not exhaust the facts, even as far as those classes were concerned, and the exceptions were too numerous to be treated as accidental. It is much to be desired that this investigation

should be followed out on the lines indicated by M. Van Gennep.

Mr. Dennett evidently has a thorough knowledge of the Chivili language—otherwise the Loango dialect of Kongo (Fiote)—and here I am somewhat at a disadvantage in following him, as many of the words given by him are not to be found in the late Mr. Holman Bentley's *Dictionary of the Kongo Language*.¹ This is, I think, not so much from any fundamental difference in the two dialects (since, where we can trace cognate forms, they are not very far apart) as from the fact that many of Mr. Dennett's words relate to matters which did not come within the scope of Mr. Bentley's inquiries—perhaps, in the case of the more archaic, to traditions already lost in São Salvador. He does not, for instance, give any words for "north" and "south," nor any names for the different winds, which play so large a part in the Bavili philosophy; whence, perhaps, we may infer that the Bakongo were not in the habit of paying much attention to the cardinal points, the fixed directions of sunrise and sunset being sufficient for all practical purposes. Many of the Chivili sentences quoted by Mr. Dennett are undoubtedly very ancient, and would be unintelligible unless explained by a native—as is often the case with proverbs, songs, and other traditional matter. Thus, "the valley of the fly and the mosquito hand in hand" (pp. 12, 118), is rather a gloss than a translation of *Bulu Zimbu Chikoko* (*Bulu*=valley; *chikoko* is evidently an adverbial form derived from *koko*=hand; *zimbu*, plural of *mbu*=a mosquito). This is probably also the case with the native explanations of the symbols on pp. 71-73.

It might not be fair to demand from every student of any given language a knowledge of comparative philology; but a little acquaintance with some other Bantu languages would have shown Mr. Dennett that some, at least, of his etymologies are scarcely

¹ It is much to be regretted that Mr. Dennett should have chosen an orthography which must obscure the identity of his Chivili words for all students of the Bantu languages. I have ventured, except in direct quotation, to restore them to a form in which they are more generally recognisable. His use of *x* is particularly trying, from its Portuguese associations, even though it may not suggest the Zulu lateral click!

tenable: e.g. "Mwici contains the root Mu (for Mbu = the sea)." The *mu* in *mwisi* (Bentley: *mwixi* = smoke, haze, etc.), is the prefix, and the word is identical with the Zulu *umusi*, Swahili *moshi*, and Herero *omwise*. In Nyanja the prefix is atrophied, and the word appears as *utsi*, and in other languages (as in Konde *ilyesi* and Kamba *jioki*), we find a different prefix. Neither is it at all probable that the prefix *mu* has anything to do with *mbu* = the sea, if only because the *m* in *mb* is a nasalising of the labial, and not likely to be found without the latter.

Again, the derivation of *ka zila*, applied to prohibitions, from *nzila* (*njila*) = a road, appears doubtful when we remember the Zulu verb *zila*, meaning "to abstain from, as from certain words or actions, as from certain kinds of food" (Colenso's *Dictionary*). In Ronga, *yila* (evidently the same word), and in Ila (the language of the people usually called Mashukulumbwe in N.W. Rhodesia) *ku zila*, mean "to be forbidden, tabooed." It may also be pointed out that in all Bantu languages we find many identical words (or rather, one should say, groups of sounds) of different meanings, and, probably, different etymologies. The identity may have been produced by phonetic decay, of which we see the ultimate result in the hundreds of identical monosyllables in Chinese; in any case, it is highly improbable that the Zulu *gula* = "to be ill" has any connection with the Nyanja word *gula*, which means "to buy," or the Kongo *nika* = "to grind," with Zulu *nika* = "to give." Thus, for instance, it is possible (though one would be sorry to dogmatise on the subject) that the different meanings of *kanga* (see p. 114) have nothing to do with one another; and, if so, all interpretations based on the contrary hypothesis naturally fall to the ground. How *Nyambi* (p. 116) means "the spirit or personality of the four," it is difficult to see. *Ya* is "four"—but Mr. Dennett gives "*ia* = to be" as one of the constituents of the word—and he cannot have it both ways.

The matter contained in Mr. Dennett's book is so abundant, and of so varied a character, that a full discussion within the limits here imposed would be impossible. All that can be done here is to add a few comparative notes.

The name *Nyambi* seems, from its occurrence alternately with *Nsambi*, among tribes both north and south of the Bavili,

to me (*pace* Mr. Dennett) to have the same force. We find it used by the Duala, Benga, and Mpongwe. The Hereros believe in a Supreme Deity, Njambi Karunga, who is distinct from the ancestral spirits (*ovakuru*), and does not, like them, receive worship and sacrifice, though invoked under stress of calamity. In Angola, we find Nzambi, and also a distinct being, Kalunga, a personification of Death. On the other hand, the Barotse pay stated devotions to Nyambi at sunrise and sunset—see the remarkable account given in the journals of the late M. Coillard (*Coillard of the Zambesi*, pp. 345-8).

Mr. Dennett asks (p. 163): "And can NGO [the leopard] then be the sacred animal of not only the Kongo people, but of all the Bantu?" This is certainly a subject worth investigating; we find scattered indications that such may even have been the case with the Zulus. The name *ingwe* (= ngo) is seldom heard, being counted unlucky; the animal is usually called *isilo*, which really means "a wild beast" in general, and *isilo* itself is one of the royal titles of great chiefs. The leopard's skin, too, could only be worn by chiefs. Again, the name *nyalugwe*, used in Nyanja, is probably substituted, for reasons connected with *Alonipa*, or, to use Mr. Dennett's word, *china*, for some cognate form of *ngo*.

A curious parallel to the *ematon* of the Bini (p. 194) is described by Livingstone (*Missionary Travels*, ch. xii.¹). At Lilonda, the residence of the deceased Barotse chief Santuru, he found "a grove . . . in which are to be seen various instruments of iron just in the state he left them. One looks like the guard of a basket-hilted sword; another has an upright stem of the metal, on which are placed branches worked at the ends into miniature axes, hoes, and spears; on these he was accustomed to present offerings, according as he desired favours to be conferred in undertaking hewing, agriculture, or fighting."

Lastly, the Bini folk-tale on p. 230 is a variant of one found both in Bantu and Negro Africa, in several different versions, one being given by Mr. Dennett himself in *Folklore of the Ifort*. The theme usually is that the Hare and the Elephant agree to kill their mothers in time of famine, and the Elephant does so, while

¹ P. 191 in Ward & Lock's edition.

the Hare backs out of his share in the agreement. In a Bemba story the protagonists are the Hare and the Lion; in a Lusiba one, the Hare and the Leopard; and the Wakinga (North-East Nyasa) tell the tale of two men. Perhaps the story in "Cunnie Rabbit," where Spider and Leopard agree to eat their children, but the former cheats, might also be reckoned as a variant. I hope, some day, to find leisure for a comparative study of this tale in its various African versions.

A. WERNER.

THE KHASIS. By MAJOR P. R. T. GURDON, I.A., Deputy Commissioner, Eastern Bengal and Assam Commission, and Superintendent of Ethnography in Assam. London: David Nutt. 1907.

This is the first of a series of monographs on the wilder tribes of Assam which was projected by Sir B. Fuller, the late Lieutenant-Governor of the province. The author, who is superintendent of ethnography and editor of the series, is thoroughly familiar with this interesting people, understands their language, and as district officer has visited every part of the beautiful country which they occupy. The Khasis, or, as they used to be called, the Cossyahs, to the number of 176,000, inhabit what is known as the Khasi and Jaintia Hill district in Assam. As regards their ethnical position, Major Gurdon rightly connects them with the Mon-Anam race, which is supposed to have occupied the Malay Peninsula and a considerable part of Eastern India in prehistoric times. In support of this he refers to three points of resemblance: a peculiarly shaped hoe found among the Khasis, the Nagas, and the aborigines of the Malay region and Chota Nagpur; the sleeveless coat worn by Khasis, some Nagas, and by Mikirs; and the habit of erecting memorial stones, common to Khasis, Mikirs, Nagas, and the Ho-Mundas of Chota Nagpur. These alone do not prove the common origin of these tribes, but they agree with the linguistic evidence.

Out of the mass of interesting material collected in this monograph I can refer only to a few of the more important points.

In the first place, Sir C. Lyall's excellent summary shows that "their social organisation is one of the most perfect examples still surviving of matriarchal institutions, carried out with a logic and thoroughness which, to those accustomed to regard the status and authority of the father as the foundation of society, are exceedingly remarkable. Not only is the mother the head and source, and only bond of union, of the family; in the most primitive part of the hills, the Synteng country, she is the only owner of real property, and through her alone is inheritance transmitted. The father has no kinship with his children, who belong to their mother's clan; what he earns goes to his own matriarchal stock, and at his death his bones are deposited in the cromlech of his mother's kin. In Jowai he neither lives nor eats in his wife's house, but visits it only after dark. In the veneration of ancestors, which is the foundation of the tribal piety, the primeval ancestress and her brother are the only persons regarded. The flat memorial stones set up to perpetuate the memory of the dead are called after the woman who represents the clan, and the standing stones ranged behind them are dedicated to the male kinsmen on the mother's side." In conformity with this social arrangement goddess worship is predominant, and the founder of their civilisation is a culture heroine.

Next come the "memorial" stones rightly so called, many of which were unhappily overthrown in the recent disastrous earthquake. Major Gurdon shows that they closely resemble those of Chota Nagpur, which are familiar to us from the accounts by Colonel Dalton and Dr. Ball. He adopts the following classification of them: (*a*) those which serve as seats for the spirits of departed clansfolk on their way to the clan cromlech; (*b*) those erected to commemorate a parent or some other near relation; (*c*) those which mark tanks, the water of which is supposed to cleanse the ashes and bones of those who have died unnatural deaths; (*d*) flat table-stones, often accompanied by menhirs, which are not devoted to the dead,

but serve as seats for weary travellers. His description of the mode of erection of these stones, and of the death rites of the tribe, is full and interesting. Most of the leading facts have been already given by Sir H. Yule, Major Godwin-Austen, and Mr. Clarke.

As regards folk-lore, the account of their rules of taboo is valuable, and in a special appendix will be found a description of their curious mode of divination by egg-breaking. He gives a few folk-tales out of a large collection, which, it may be hoped, will soon be published. Those that he has printed are not very important. One, which ascribes the spots on the Moon to the Sun, who threw ashes at him because he tried to commit incest, is like a Hindu tale. In another we have the myth of the separation of Heaven and Earth. Heaven drew up the Earth by his navel-string; this the people cut where it was fastened to a hill, and "it was since that time that heaven became so high." They have a Flood legend, but the account of it is vague.

A most remarkable superstition is that connected with the Thlen, a gigantic snake which demands human victims, and for whose sake murders have been committed in fairly recent times. A brave man once destroyed the Thlen of his day by inducing it to open its mouth, into which he promptly dropped a lump of red-hot iron. The beast was then cut up, and the hero directed the people to eat its flesh. If this order had been obeyed the world would have been free of these monsters; but, unhappily, one small piece of the meat remained uneaten, and from this the breed was reproduced. The Thlen attaches itself to property, and a condition of the owner's prosperity is that the monster shall receive blood. This is extracted by the murderer from the nose of his victim by a bamboo tube, and then offered to the Thlen. I cannot quote any exact Indian parallel to this belief. The subject of the Thlen deserves careful investigation.

The present volume has been printed in England, and its *format* is in pleasant contrast to that of most of the publications of the Government of India. It is illustrated by some excellent coloured plates from sketches by Miss Scott-O'Connor and the

late Colonel Woodthorpe, besides several good photographs. If any criticism may be offered on this excellent monograph, I would suggest that the bibliography is unsatisfactory. It does not give details of dates of publication or of editions, and it is quite useless to refer to papers in publications like the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* without exact reference. It is also imperfect, because it omits the valuable papers by Godwin-Austen and Clarke in the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*. Lastly, in his "Table of Contents" Major Gurdon should distinguish folk-lore from folk-tales, and a monograph of this kind should certainly be provided with a map.

W. CROOKE.

THE NATIVES OF BRITISH CENTRAL AFRICA. By A. WERNER.
A. Constable & Co. Ltd. 1906.

MISS WERNER'S contribution to the series of *The Native Races of the British Empire* is one of great charm, as well as of anthropological interest. Her personal experiences among the Yao and Anyanja, and her enthusiasm on their behalf, impart a feeling of intimacy which no amount of knowledge gained from books can give. *British Central Africa* is technically the Protectorate of that name, comprising only the western and southern sides of the basin of Lake Nyassa. In the minds of most readers it will perhaps have a larger connotation. Even in the former case, it is too wide a term for the real subject of this book, which is mainly concerned with the two tribes just named, only touching the others incidentally. But the Yao and Anyanja are sufficiently important to deserve a book to themselves.

They are, according to their traditions, and probably in fact, cognate tribes. The Anyanja were a peaceful people, into whose territory on the Shiré Highlands the more warlike Yao, driven by pressure from the north, broke not long before the middle of the last century. The Yao came from the Portuguese possessions on the eastern side of Lake Nyassa, where many of them still dwell. They subjugated the Anyanja, and settling at length side by side and intermarrying with them, began a process of coalescence

into one people which is still going on. Hitherto we have been dependent for most of what we know of the Yao and Anyanja upon the Rev. Duñ Macdonald's *Africana*, a book invaluable for the student of the Bantu race. But Macdonald, with all his merits, was nothing of an anthropologist. It was quite time that his book should be—not superseded: that is probably impossible, but—supplemented by some one who knows the problems anthropologists are trying to solve, and is able to assist in so doing. Although Miss Werner addresses primarily an audience of a popular character, her wide knowledge of the Bantu, her comprehension of the scientific issues, her sense of proportion, and her clear and pleasant style, combine to render her work useful to more than "the general reader."

The book opens with a geographical account of the country, its climate, fauna, and flora. The authoress passes on to a list of the tribes, and an account of their physical characteristics, dwelling chiefly on those of the Mang'anja and Wayao. She carefully discusses their artificial deformities, (keloids, the perforation of the lip for a plug, and the filing of the teeth), and their fashions in hairdressing. Then come two important chapters on Religion and Magic. After this native life, from birth to death and burial, comes under review. Arts and industries, the language and folklore, music and dancing, follow. The tribal organisation and government are explained, and finally the history and migrations, so far as we know them from civilised records, or can infer them from the traditions of the natives, are traced. It will thus be seen that the entire ground is covered, and Miss Werner is able from her own experience constantly to add details, or to give explanations which throw considerable light on the subject. It is true that exact references to authorities are dispensed with, according to what I think the indefensible plan of the series. But the want of them is, to some extent, compensated by the security that the reader feels that where the author is quoting she always has her own personal knowledge of the tribes chiefly described in the background to satisfy her that the statements quoted are accurate, and thus though the information may be conveyed by quotation, it is, to some extent at any rate, to be received on her personal authority.

Among the many interesting questions considered, I will only refer to one. We were able to gather from Macdonald's work that the Yao and Anyanja reckoned kinship through the mother. Miss Werner shows that they are divided into exogamous totem-clans, though she is unable to give anything like a list of those clans. I hope she has correspondents in the neighbourhood of Lake Nyassa who are able to supply her with this information, and to assist in the explanation of the clan-names, and the usages and superstitions relating to the totems. This is an urgent matter, as the missionaries and other influences of "civilisation" will, it is to be feared, very soon obliterate all memory of the old organisation and beliefs. Some of the Anyanja tribes are passing into the patrilineal stage, and what is most interesting is that they are doing so along precisely the same road as that adopted in German South-west Africa by the Herero. They have adopted a system of agnatic descent, and carry it on side by side with the older reckoning through the mother. The quotation Miss Werner makes from Bishop Maples—"the mother preserves to her offspring the tie of kinship, the father that of blood"—is incomprehensible to me. Mr. Thomas, in his book on Australian kinship, draws a distinction between blood and kinship, which may or may not be valid. But that distinction does not help us here. Bishop Maples' words may convey some subtle difference which a further investigation of the tribes he refers to may disclose. The fact of two distinct Bantu peoples at a distance from one another of nearly fifteen hundred miles as the crow flies, right across the continent, adopting the same device to smooth the passage from motherright to fatherright should help in the solution of more than one anthropological problem. Is it too late to recover the details of the ingenious arrangement which Bishop Maples was the first to make known? Perhaps the author can secure them.

The illustrations, as a whole, are excellent. Though some are rather too small, many of them are of exceptional clearness and beauty, and effectively assist the reader to realise the various types of humanity and the customs described.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

LES FONTAINES DES GENIES (SEBA AIOUN), CROYANCES SOUDANAISES À ALGER. Par J. B. ANDREWS. Alger, 1903. 8, pp. 36.

THERE are at Algiers a number of West African negroes of various tribes—Hansa, Bambara, etc.—each of which is organised into a religious society, called *Dar*. These societies possess houses inhabited by their chiefs, which also serve as centres of the cult and contain the religious emblems. Each *Dar* has its assemblies of men and women, the former ruled by five *kebir*, the latter by a single *hounia*, and it is the latter who is most closely associated with the *djinn*, of which there are many. There are seven fountains, but the correspondence with the number of *Diar* is accidental, for each fountain has its special *djinn*, though the cult of each *dar* is not restricted to a single spirit.

Sacrifices are an important part of the cult, and a common explanation of the ecstatic state of the votaries, provoked, as is commonly the case, by dancing, is that they are possessed. Mr. Andrews gives a long list of names of *djinn*, and it would have been interesting to learn more as to the origin of the names; they are represented as divided into nations and tribes, and have the reputation of causing diseases as punishments for affronts offered to them. There is also some account of the musical instruments employed by the negroes, probably imported by them, and a few specimens of their melodies. The work is useful, but a comparison with the home customs of the tribes in question would have increased its value.

N. W. THOMAS.

THE RYMOUR CLUB, EDINBURGH, MISCELLANEA. Part I. March, 1906.

WITH a membership of forty-nine, this club has begun, not only to collect, as set forth in the objects of the society, but also to publish ballads, lyrics, and other rhymed material, and ballad and other tunes, etc., more particularly such as illustrate

Scottish dialect, character, manners, and music in former days. Its members are almost all resident in Edinburgh, but it has adopted an ingenious method of calling attention to its existence and ensuring the activity of collectors: the list of corresponding members contains thirty names, and they will doubtless feel it incumbent upon them to further the objects of the society in a way that an ordinary subscriber would not. This issue of *Miscellanea* contains four contributions: children's rhymes and rhyme-games, from the collection of one of their corresponding members in New Zealand; the ballad of "Jack Munro" (with music); the original version of "Within a Mile of Edinboro' Town"; and two northern bothy songs. The Folk-lore Society is always ready to give its blessing to local effort. In the present case it does so with especial pleasure, because the infant society is evidently a vigorous child, which will not die of inanition. The secretary is Mr. A. Reid, F.S.A.Scot., The Loaning, Merchiston Bank Gardens, Edinburgh, and the subscription five shillings.

IN MALAY FORESTS. By GEORGE MAXWELL. Blackwood. 1907. This little book—it is small in size and modest in appearance, although it runs to 306 pp.—contains much that is of interest for members of the Folk-lore Society, for it is the work of a thoroughly good sportsman who is more than usually well versed in jungle magic. This combination is unfortunately not a very common one, but in this instance, at all events, it is attended with the happiest results, the folk-lore details giving a sense of completeness to the pictures of big game shooting which is as pleasant as it is rare. The stories—fifteen in number—though not all recorded here for the first time, are capitally told in terse, clear, vigorous English. The sportsmanship is of the right kind, and the folk-lore is not only interesting and accurate, but gives valuable variations of, and parallels to, many of the spells and ceremonies employed by the Malays in hunting the bigger wild animals. Incidentally, in most of these tales, we get

vivid glimpses of the Malay *pawang*, or magician, a figure now fast disappearing under the continual increasing pressure of Islamic practice, but one of whom we would fain know more. "A Tale by the Wayside" contains a selection of mouse-deer stories, the mouse-deer being the "Brer Rabbit" of the Peninsula. "A Deer-drive" describes the "make-believe" by means of which the deer are driven into the toils. The horrible end of "A Were-Tiger" is a reminiscence of the darker days of the Peninsula, before the strong arm of the British Government had destroyed the power once so arrogantly claimed by the Malay chiefs, to slay men at pleasure without being asked the reason. If we were requested to name the best of these stories, we should be inclined to choose "The Pinjih Rhino," which contains a very good account of a spiritualistic *séance*, at which permission to slay the rhinoceros in question was extracted by dint of sheer perseverance from the spirits of the jungle.

The book might have been better arranged, and would have been greatly helped by illustrations; and the addition of a few more references to its sources would improve the appendix. There are a few slight misprints and errors, which we give in order that they may be avoided in a subsequent edition. We may mention "Næmorhedus" for "Nemorhedus" (pp. 168, 169), "Malin" for "Malim" (p. 122), "Pinjlh" for "Pinjih" (p. 303), "Biaua" for "Biawak" (p. 295), and "Cocoa nut" for "Coconut" (*passim*). The transliteration of the Arabic phrases might be here and there improved, and there are one or two slips in translation. "Voice Folk" (p. 178) (*orang bunyi*, i.e., *sembunyi*) should be "Invisible Folk," and *Unta* (p. 55), in conjunction with *sirih* and *pinang*, cannot mean "camel." We feel doubtful, moreover, as to the rendering of *Salam di rimba* by "Peace of the Forest"; and we have always understood that it is with his forefeet, rather than his hindfeet (p. 238), that the buck does his tapping in rutting-time.

WALTER W. SKEAT.

Folk-Lore.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY.

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SEPTEMBER, 1907.

[No. III.]

FEBRUARY 20th, 1907.

THE PRESIDENT (DR. GASTER) IN THE CHAIR.

THE Minutes of the Meeting held on December 19th, 1906, were read and confirmed.

The election of Mr. A. A. Gomme, Mr. W. Durrant, Mr. I. Abrahams, Mr. G. Calderon, and the Rev. Professor Kennett as members of the Society, and the admission of the Wesleyan University Library, Middletown, Connecticut, U.S.A., as a subscriber to the Society were announced.

The resignations of Mr. J. C. Hartland, Mr. Hannah, Mr. Gerish, Mr. Mackey, Dr. Ninnes, Mr. W. Mackenzie, Mr. G. E. Simpkins, the Rev. J. G. Derrick, and Mr. F. Eyles were also announced.

Mr. A. R. Wright exhibited a Rain-making Horn from Uganda, and the following North African Amulets, viz. : (1) amulets on a Dervish's cap picked up the day after the battle of Omdurman ; (2) a glass bangle with a string of cornelians attached ; (3) an imitation magnet made of deer-leather and wood, copied from a magnet

in Khartoum College, and found hung up as an amulet in a tree near Khartoum; (4) an amulet-case from the Soudan with writings inside; (5) a block used for printing charms against the Evil Eye; (6) an Arab charm with writings from the Koran, mounted in silver, with a strap for hanging round the neck; (7) a Moorish good-luck ring; and (8) two egg-shaped objects hung up in a Mosque in Morocco, as to the purpose of which he invited information.

Mr. A. F. Major exhibited a Lucky Bone sent him by Dr. J. Auden of York, used as a talisman by fishermen and jet-workers at Whitby.

Mr. Wright stated that a similar charm was in use by the gasworkers in London.

Dr. Westermarck read a paper entitled "L'Ar; or the Transference of Traditional Curses in Morocco," and in the discussion which followed, Mr. Major, Dr. Rivers, Mr. Dames, Mr. Ordish, Mr. C. S. Myers, and the Chairman took part.

Votes of thanks were accorded to Dr. Westermarck for his paper, and to Mr. Wright and Mr. Major for their exhibits.

At the conclusion of the Meeting, Dr. Westermarck exhibited some charms against the Evil Eye in use in Morocco.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 20th, 1907.

THE PRESIDENT (DR. GASTER) IN THE CHAIR.

THE minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The resignations of Mr. I. Kosminsky and Mr. H. F. Andorsen were announced.

On the motion of the Chairman a vote of condolence with the family of Mr. W. W. Newell of the American Folk-Lore Society was passed.

Dr. Dan M'Kenzie read a paper entitled, "Children and Wells" [*infra*, p. 253], and in the discussion which followed, Mr. Nutt, Mr. D'Arcy Power, and the Chairman took part.

The Meeting terminated with a vote of thanks to Dr. M'Kenzie for his paper.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 17th, 1907.

MR. G. L. GOMME (VICE-PRESIDENT) IN THE CHAIR.

THE Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The election of Mr. P. G. Thomas, Mrs. H. Draper, and Miss C. Verhorff as members of the Society, and the admission of the Seattle Public Library, the General Theological Seminary of New York, and the Institut de Sociologie, Solvay, Brussels, as subscribers to the Society were announced.

The resignations of Mr. G. H. Skipwith and Miss A. B. Wherry were also announced.

Dr. C. G. Seligmann delivered a lecture entitled "Some Notes from New Guinea," which was profusely illustrated by lantern-slides, and in the discussion which followed, Mr. Wright, Mr. G. Calderon, and the Chairman took part. Some Papuan songs were also reproduced on the phonograph.

The Meeting terminated with a vote of thanks to Dr. Seligmann for his lecture.

The following additions to the Library since the 21st November, 1906, were reported by the Secretary, viz.:

Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, July, 1905—March, 1906, presented by the Government of Bombay.

Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey, Northern Circle, for the year ending March 31st, 1906, presented by the Government of the N.W. Provinces.

Transactions of the Japan Society, 1905, 1906, Vol. VII., presented by the Society.

Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. VII., Part 7, presented by the Society.

The Riot at the Great Gate of Trinity College, February, 1610, by J. W. Clark, by exchange with the Cambridge Antiquarian Society.

Madras Government Museum; Anthropology, Vol. II., Part 2, presented by the Government of Madras.

At the Back of the Black Man's Mind, by R. E. Dennett, presented by the Author.

Byegones, New Series, Vol. IX.

CHILDREN AND WELLS.

BY DAN M'KENZIE, M.D.

(*Read at Meeting, 20th March, 1907.*)

WHY do so many wells cure children's diseases?

Out of 139 wells in Mr. R. C. Hope's collection,¹ which are or were credited with ability to cure disease:—

The disease cured is not specified in -	-	34
Ailments in general were treated at -	-	24
Eye diseases were treated at -	-	29
Skin complaints at -	-	16
Insanity was treated at -	-	2
And children were associated with -	-	34

Of these last:—

Children's diseases were treated at -	-	7
Children were made to drink of the water of	-	8
Children were baptized at -	-	10
Ceremonies were performed in which children participated, or tales are told with children as the heroes, in -	-	8

instances.

¹ Hope, R. C., *The Legendary Lore of the Holy Wells of England*. London, 1893.

Mr. and Mrs. Quiller-Couch¹ describe 95 Cornish wells. Of these, 30 were curative of disease.

Diseases of all kinds were treated at	-	8
Skin diseases at - - - - -	-	4
"Green wounds" at - - - - -	-	1
"Sore eyes" at - - - - -	-	6
"Contracted limbs" at - - - - -	-	1
Insanity at - - - - -	-	1
Children's diseases at - - - - -	-	9
And baptisms were celebrated at	- - -	11

That is, out of the whole 95, 20 were associated with infants and children; and out of the 30 which were looked upon as curative of disease, 9 were supposed to restore sick children to health. The higher proportion of children's wells in this collection, as compared with Hope's, is probably due to the fact that a smaller number of wells is dealt with, and consequently more attention has been paid to detail.

A moment's consideration will show that the treatment of children's diseases at wells stands upon a different basis from the treatment of sore eyes, skin diseases, and insanity. In the case of sore eyes and skin diseases the cure is dependent upon the reasoning of magic. The pure water may be supposed to wash away the film or discharge from the eyes, and the scab or tetter from the skin. Insanity used to be treated at wells by plunging the unfortunate lunatic into the water, when the shock produced by the sudden immersion would probably sober, for a moment at least, the raging maniac. Hydrophobia was also treated in this way. But in the case of children there is no impurity to be cleansed, no shouting demon to be exorcised. So we must seek for a different explanation to account for the cure of the

¹ Quiller-Couch, M. and R., *Ancient and Holy Wells of Cornwall*. London, 1894.

diseases of childhood at wells, and the search for an explanation is the purpose of this paper.

The following are a few detailed examples of the cure of children's diseases at wells:

To St. Madron's Well in Cornwall children used to be brought on the first three Sundays in May, that they might be cured of rickets or any other disorder with which they were troubled. "Three times they were plunged into the water, after having been stripped naked, the parent or person dipping them standing facing the sun; after the dipping they were passed nine times round the well from East to West; then they were dressed and laid in St. Madron's bed. Should they sleep, or the water in the well bubble, it was considered a good omen." Strict silence had to be observed.¹

The village of Barnwell in Northamptonshire probably owes its name to its wells, seven in number, in which it was the custom, in olden times, to dip weakly children (called "berns," adds the chronicler). "From whatever cause the custom was originally adopted, in the course of time some presiding angel was supposed to communicate hidden virtues to the water, and mystical and puerile rites were performed at these springs." Hence they were denominated *fontes puerorum*.²

At Monkton, near Jarrow in Northumberland, where it is reported St. Bede was born, there is a well which bears his name. As late as 1740 it was a prevailing custom to bring children troubled with any disease or infirmity to be dipped in the well. Between each dipping a crooked pin was thrown into the water.³

Many children's wells are to be found in Scotland⁴ as well as in England.

¹ Quiller-Conch, *l.c.*, 136. ² Hope, *l.c.*, p. 99. ³ Hope, *l.c.*, p. 109.

⁴ A. Mitchell, quoted by Floss, *Das Kind*, ii. 213; Black, W. G., *Folk-Medicine*, London, 1883, p. 133; and Ditchfield, *Old English Customs*, London, 1896, p. 182.

Passing to foreign countries, we find that in Slavonia the holy wells are resorted to for the cure of children's diseases by the people, who may be seen, gorgeously attired as if for a feast, making regular pilgrimages to these wells in caravans of waggons.¹

In the next instance no particular well is mentioned, but as it is, nevertheless, an undoubted cure by water, I have included it in the series.

Among the Servians, a peevish and constantly whining child is said to be suffering from a special disorder known as "Wriska," for which the following ceremony is recommended. The mother must wait until she sees a fire on the other side of a water, river, or lake. Then the crying baby is brought out to the water, while some one fetches a green plate and a piece of burning wood. Quenching the fiery wood in the water, the mother says: "Wila," who is a kind of water-fairy in these parts, "Wila is having her son married, and has invited my baby to the wedding. I do not send her the baby, however; only its crying." This is said three times, and the baby is made to drink as much as possible of the water from the green plate.²

In modern Syria³ there is a custom of "making a sick child that is thought to be bewitched drink from seven wells, or cisterns."⁴

The foregoing are examples of cures. Here follows some account of springs or wells of which children are made to drink, presumably for the benefit of their health.

At Belper, in Derbyshire, there is a well where contracted and stiff limbs may be successfully restored by

¹ Ploss, H., *Das Kind in Branch und Sitte der Völker*, il. 214. Leipzig, 1884.

² Ploss, *l.c.*, il. 215.

³ Smith, W. Robertson, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*, London, 1894, p. 182, footnote.

⁴ These *cisterns* are, properly speaking, *reservoirs*.

bathing. Hither children, also, are brought to drink the water mixed with oatmeal and sugar.¹

At the Dropping Well, near Tideswell in the same county, on Easter Day, young people and children used to assemble, "with a cup in one pocket and a quarter of a pound of sugar or honey in the other, and having caught in their cups as much water as they could from the droppings of the Tor-spring, they dissolved the sugar in it,"² and I have no doubt, although the report does not actually say so, they drank it.

At St. Helen's Well, near Eshton in Yorkshire, in the eighteenth century, the younger folk used to gather on the Sunday evenings and drink the water mixed with sugar, but the custom has now died out.³

Next follow one or two instances of springs or waters about which tales, legends, or sayings are prevalent among the folk, and in which child-characters figure.

In Cornwall there is a well called after St. Levan. Now this saint was a fisherman, and it was so, that he caught only one fish a day. On a certain day his sister and her child came to visit him, and the only fish the saint caught that day was a chad. Chagrined at his bad luck, and trembling for his reputation as a host, the holy man threw the chad back into the sea, and tried his luck again. But, alas! the same fish persisted in being caught three times in succession; so St. Levan, seeing it was to be the chad or nothing, gave in. Finally, when the fish was cooked and served up, the child was choked "on the first mouthful."⁴

Perhaps it may seem to be straining the imagination unduly to see in this tale any connection between a well and the death of a child, seeing that the well-saint got the fish from the sea. But the association of the

¹ Hope, R. C., *loc.*, p. 53.

² Hope, R. C., *loc.*, p. 60.

³ Hope, R. C., *loc.*, p. 204.

⁴ Hope, *loc.*, p. 27.

death of a child with a well, as we shall see, is by no means uncommon, and the association is a very suggestive one. In the next example the connection is close enough.

Naughty children must not play near the river Tees at Pierse Bridge, near Durham, especially on Sundays, or the spirit of the river, whose modern name is Peg Powler, will drag them down into deep waters and they will be drowned.¹

Another suggestion of a child-and-water connection comes from Essex, where St. Osyth possesses a fountain. It is narrated of this saint that, when a child, she fell into a river and was drowned, but was miraculously restored to life by the prayers of St. Modwen,² whose name, to be sure, recalls St. Madron of the well in the west country.

To add instance to instance would be tedious, and quite enough has been presented to show that in the minds of the older peoples of Britain, at all events, there probably existed some mysterious bond of union between children and wells, ponds, and rivers. What was this bond?

The most obvious answer to the question is that wells cured children's diseases, and were associated generally with children in the folk-mind, because they were originally baptismal fonts, and for this reason their water, being hallowed, washed away children's diseases, just as it purged their souls of Original Sin. "No child," in the words of an old English saying, "thrives until it is baptized."

It is a well-known fact that holy wells were frequently used for baptismal purposes. Indeed, this is one of the points I rely upon for proof that some other link existed between children and wells. But I do not think that the baptismal explanation is sufficient to account

¹ Hope, *l.c.*, p. 72.

² Hope, *l.c.*, p. 73.

for the cures and other signs of an association. To begin with, many wells which are resorted to for curing children's diseases are not, as far as we know, also used for baptism. But the most weighty objection to the baptismal explanation lies in the evidence I hope to be able to lead, which shows that in baptism we are dealing with a ceremony dependent upon a belief absolutely different from that which underlies the curing of children at wells, ponds, and rivers.

Now, in order that this difference may be made clear, it will be necessary to deviate considerably from the main line of our story and to investigate the subject of infant baptism, in order to discover, if we can, the causes which led to the ceremonial sprinkling of the new-born child with water. In prosecuting this search I have been led far afield among the nations of the world, but I will not attempt to do more than to sketch out my wanderings in the briefest possible manner.

The ceremonial washing, baptism, or lustration of children, is a rite as old, and as widespread almost, as the marriage rite. A religious ceremony is the sanctification of some common event of life—eating, drinking, birth, marriage, death, together with certain communal or national acts—whereby we contrive, for a moment, to rivet the public attention upon, and to obtain the public recognition of, the eternal mysteries which underlie that outward show we call our everyday life. Infant baptism, nowadays, is one of these suggestive ceremonies. At first, however, it was something much more simple. For it was only the hallowing of the necessary first bath of the new-born child, the bath of physical purification. Prior to this simple domestic act the child is actually, and in very truth, impure. The physical impurity, it would seem, suggested to the minds of our forefathers, in a manner familiar to the students of folk-lore, that the child is also mystically, or, as we would say in the

language of modern theology, spiritually impure, a condition which is technically expressed by the word *taboo*. It is well known, of course, that the mother, at this time, is also taboo, and it is possible that the child is infected by the mother, so to speak; but this consideration has nothing to do with our enquiry. For the removal of the child's taboo, which is fraught with peril not only to the child, but also to the community around, a ceremonial or religious purification by ritual washing is necessary. But it does not in the least matter where the water used in the mystic washing is obtained. Any water will serve the purpose, provided it is, or is rendered, sacred, that is, free from mystically deleterious qualities, by the officiating medicine-man or priest. Naturally, the water of a holy well or river, such as the Jordan, possesses qualities in virtue of which it is inherently sacred, and so the baby baptized by such water is twice blest. But the point to be noted is, that the water of the sacred spring or river used for baptism is already holy. It was sacred before it was used for baptism.

As time goes on and the world advances, a deeper meaning comes to be attached to the rite of baptism. It becomes the Church's opportunity of emphasizing the mystery of biogenesis. A child indeed is not, so to speak, born into the Church until it is baptized. And it is interesting to trace the original taboo in the comparatively modern doctrine of Original Sin, from which the infant is set free by the baptismal rite. Thus, in the primitive taboo lies the germ of the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration.

Returning to the primitive ritual bathing of children, to detail all the records of infant lustration-rites from all over the world of time and space would be wearisome, but perhaps I may describe a few instances in order to illustrate the several points in my argument.

To begin with examples of the taboo which the act of baptism washes away. In Bohemia and Silesia, if an unbaptized child is brought into a strange house, it is sure to bring bad luck with it.¹

In Upper Egypt the mother and child are isolated until the latter is 40 days old, then, after a ceremonial bath, the child is permitted to be brought into contact with the rest of the community.²

It will be remembered in this connection how highly the finger, fat, etc., of an unbaptized child were valued in the middle ages by those who sought to indulge in the gruesome practices of witchcraft.

The following instances of the baptismal ceremony are only a few of the many examples on record.

Among the ancient Mexicans, long before the Spaniards introduced Christianity, the second bath of the child, on the fifth day after birth, was made the occasion of a great ceremony. After all the neighbours and friends had assembled, the baby was laid on leaves beside a new earthen vessel filled with pure water, and the midwife, who acted the part of priestess for the nonce, addressing the child, recited an incantation which ended: "Thou art the gift of our son Quetzalcoatl, the omnipresent. Be purified by thy Mother Chalchihuitlicue, the goddess of water." So saying she moistened the lips and breast of the child with water from the vessel. Next, pouring the water over the child's head, she chanted: "Take this, my son, the water of the Lord of the World; this is our life, and by this we wash and become clean. May this heavenly water, clear as light, pass into thy body and there remain; may it expel from thee every evil and wicked thing, thy legacy from the beginning of the world! For, behold, we are all in the hands of our Mother, Chalchihuitlicue." Then she harangued the powers of darkness, adjuring them to depart, for "this

¹ Ploss, *Das Kind*, i. 51.

² Ploss, *Id.*, i. 55.

our child lives anew and is born again; once more it is purified; once more it lives through the grace of our Mother, Chalchihuitlicue."

The baby was then carried out of the dwelling, and, being held up to heaven, was dedicated to the gods and goddesses, especially to the water-goddess and to the sun, while the hope was expressed that if the baby grew up to become a warrior he would ultimately win to heaven, the home of the brave. Then the name was given.¹

Here is a ceremony not devoid of a touch of grandeur, though performed by the heathen priestess of a heathen nation. It should be noted that the water used was not specially sanctified. Let me direct attention also to points which are of importance from the point of view of our inquiry, viz. the dedication of the child to the water-goddess, and the phrase "this" water "is our life." (The name was conferred upon the occasion of the baptismal rite, probably because the presence of the higher powers guarded the tender infant against any possible evil which might attend the public utterance of such a close personal attribute.)

The now extinct inhabitants of Yucatan, in Central America, used to perform a baptismal rite somewhat similar to that just described, four male relatives or friends of the family acting as the deities of the water for the time being. In this ceremony, which did not take place until the child was from nine to twelve years of age—a variation from the usual custom, which is not, however, solitary—the water was prepared from flowers and cocoa-beans, which, after being treated in a certain way, were added to pure water collected from tree-hollows and the corners of the leaves of certain plants.²

In ancient Germany, before the introduction of Christianity, the father poured water over his child immediately

¹ Ploss, *Das Kind*, i. 262.

² Ploss, *l.c.*, l. 261.

after birth and gave it a name. After the establishment of the new religion the privilege of naming the child remained with the father until it was set aside in favour of the godfather in A.D. 813.¹

At the present day infant baptism is a very widely observed custom, not only among Christian nations, but also among heathens.

In the huts of the Yoruba negroes of the West Coast of Africa there is a sacred tree, around which stand pots full of water, and with this water the face of the new-born baby is sprinkled during the ceremony.²

The Llamas of Mongolia and Tibet, it is said, dip the new-born child three times into water, naming it as they do so. Buddha was so baptized by the snake-gods, according to the story, but the Buddhist community as a whole do not perform the rite.³

Among the Maories of New Zealand the taboo of the child after birth is removed by a fire ceremony and a water-sprinkling ceremony. The latter is described as follows:

A number of clay balls are made by the priest and little mounds are erected; each mound is named after a god, and each clay ball after an ancestral chief. The priest then takes a branch of *Karamu* or *Kawa*, parts it, and binds it half round the baby's waist, chanting an invocation beginning, "There are mounds risen up," etc. When this is finished he sprinkles the mother and child with water by means of a branch, and chants again. Then three ovens are made, one for the mother, one for the priests, and one for the gods. In these ovens food is cooked. A number of pieces of pumice are then placed in a row and named after the child's ancestors. And to each of these stones in turn food is presented, with an incantation beginning, "This is your food," etc. Then the

¹ Ploss, *l.c.*, i. 264, quoting Erinoar, *Teutonic Mythology*.

² Ploss, *l.c.*, i. 259.

³ Ploss, *l.c.*, i. 265.

taboo is removed, and the mother and child set free. The child is named at this ceremony. A somewhat different ritual is followed in the case of a chief. The father, mother, and head of the tribe go with the priest, who wades out into the middle of a stream with the baby. There the child is sprinkled with water, while certain incantations are recited.¹

Among the Jews in olden times infant baptism was to some extent practised, although it is not mentioned in the Bible, for the Talmud provides the details to be observed in the ceremony performed when heathen infants were received into Jewry.²

In ancient Rome the baptismal rite was a domestic rather than an ecclesiastical function, but some kind of ceremony was probably observed, which took place on the 8th-9th day after birth, and for which a special vessel, the *Baptisterium*, was provided.³

In addition to the foregoing, a ritual washing of the new-born or young infant was and is performed in the following countries and races:

The ancient Goths and Scandinavians; the Lapps, since long before Christian times; the natives of Upper Egypt; the Fiote tribe of the Loango coast of Africa; the natives of South Guinea; the Basutos, whose witch-doctors soap the child's head; the Ovahereroes of South Africa; the Guanchos (the aboriginal inhabitants of the Canary Isles); the Jessids, an old heathen sect still surviving in Armenia; the ancient Hindoos, and perhaps the Persians; the Battas and other tribes of modern India; in Sumatra (the name being given at a brook); in Java; among the Negritoës of the Philippines; on Uvea Island (South Seas); on Rotuma Island; among the Noeforese of Papua; among the Pampas Indians of South America; among the North

¹ Tregear, E., "The Maories of New Zealand," *Journ. Anthropol. Instit.*, vol. xix., p. 98.

² Floss, *l.c.*, i. 266.

³ Floss, *l.c.*, i. 267.

American Indians;¹ and, of course, among all Christian nations.

Thus a lustration or purification ceremony is practically universal. Here we find an explanation of the mysterious ease with which infant baptism, though not directly commanded in the New Testament, became a sacrament of the early church. It was a practice already in vogue. And there is every probability that in ancient Britain, just as in ancient Germany and Scandinavia, infant baptism was practised as a ceremony long before the arrival of the Christian missionaries. Not only so, but it is quite possible that the ceremony may have taken place at these very wells and springs which still retain the reputation of sanctity.

It is generally admitted nowadays that well-worship was practised in Britain before the advent of Christianity. In support of this belief in the antiquity of our British well-worship, Mr. Gomme and other authorities on the subject have drawn attention to the quaintly-named saints who preside over these little wayside springs. We have, it is true, many wells dedicated to St. Mary, to St. John, to St. Peter, and so on, who are genuine saints of the Church. But who is St. Hawthorne, who runs a well in the Wrekin in Shropshire, for the cure of skins? Who are St. Gover, of Kensington Gardens and Llanover House in Monmouthshire; St. Pirian; St. Keyne; and the others? The only reasonable answer is, that these are the modern or mediaeval equivalents of the ancient British water-spirits who tenanted the wells of the country. Partly, therefore, because these "saints" seem to be old gods with new faces, and partly because there are historical records which leave practically no doubt on the subject, it is now held that, after the coming of the Christian religion, the priests of the new cult, having made many

¹ List compiled from Ploss, *l.c.*, i. 257 *et seq.*, and Crooke, W., *Things Indian*. London, 1906.

vain efforts to eradicate all traces of the former beliefs, circumvented the Mammon of Unrighteousness by taking the old pagan practices under their own wing. So they blessed the waters of the holy wells; built chapels, in many instances, over them; turned the old well-spirit into a new church-saint, and took to themselves the credit for the miraculous cures ascribed to these ancient places of worship.¹

They forgot, however, to secure all the water-spirits, for Peg Powler of the Tees escaped them; and, in like wise, Jenny Greenteeth, the spirit of the Lancashire streams; Peg o' Nell, the lady of the Ribble; Mary Hosies, who controls part of the Avon near my home in Lanarkshire; and others, still survive to carry the memory of the British nature-gods down into modern days. Oddly enough, we are told that in Sweden the old pagan deities, when worsted by Christianity, took refuge in the rivers.

It is interesting to note that in York Minster, Carlisle Cathedral, Glastonbury, and elsewhere, the old holy-wells are still found within the walls of the Christian churches.² We may, therefore, safely say, that if the cure of children's diseases at wells was dependent upon these wells being baptismal fonts, the practice must be referred to the pagan and not to the Christian rite. But has well-curing anything whatever to do with baptism? Let us return to the section dealing with the baptismal customs of the world, and let us compare the details of the baptismal ceremony with those of the cure-ceremony. If we do so, we shall find a difference so marked between the two rites that we shall surely be able to say that they are different in origin and in aim—fundamentally different; and that all they possess in common is the accidental circumstance that they have both something to do with water and with young children.

To begin with, the lustration-rite is a washing-rite.

¹ Hope, *l.c.*, ix.

² Hope, *l.c.*, xxi.

The baptism washes away a taboo, just as we would wash mud off our fingers before shaking hands with a lady. The water used may or may not be holy or sacred. It really does not matter much. But the cleansing must be effected, and by the imitation of washing. Indeed, the cleansing or purification may be accomplished without the aid of water at all. For in some places it is brought about by sprinkling with salt (Armenia, Georgia, etc.), or by fumigation (Bombe tribes of Central Africa, etc.).

In the well-cures, on the other hand, the water, and not the washing, is the all-important part, the soul, of the rite. The child must be brought into intimate contact with the water, in the well if possible. Infant baptism seldom takes the form of a dipping, it is usually a laving or sprinkling. But in the well-cure the child is stripped and laid in the well, and at the same time is made to drink of the water as copiously as possible,¹ as if it was intended that he should obtain from the water some mystic and vital property of which he stood in need.

What was this mystic and vital property? It was the principle of life.

In order to substantiate this statement, let us see what evidence exists, other than is suggested by the cure of disease, for the vital connection of children with wells. In this further development of our enquiry, I shall extend the scope of our investigations to include water generally—in wells, ponds, brooks, rivers, and in the clouds and sea. We shall come across some interesting facts in folk-lore bearing on this point.

Every child knows where our babies in England have come from. From the gooseberry-bushes, of course! But in Hesse and Halle in Germany they come from the wells!² The stork brings them no doubt, but where does he get them? In the wells, ponds, rivers, and so

¹ Hope, *l.c.*, and Quiller-Couch, *l.c.*, *passim*.

² Ploss, *l.c.*, i. 6 *et seq.*

on. If your baby is coming from the Weser you can tell whether it is going to be a boy or a girl, for the water-carriers bring the girls in the white, and the boys in the black and red buckets. In Brunswick, the clever lady who brings the babies fetches them from the wells, and for this reason she is called *Borneller* (from *Born* or *Brunnen*, a well). On the island of Amrum, off the coast of Schleswig-Holstein, there are two baby-wells. When the woman (I wonder if she is one of the Norns!) in charge of these wells is asked for a baby she has to wake it up from its sleep with a scythe. This is a very awkward implement to use, to be sure, and just as we might expect, while she is watching carefully so as not to hurt the baby, she forgets all about mother, who, in consequence, is almost always badly cut, and so has to go to bed every time a baby comes. In Cologne, Kunibert's well it is that supplies the babies; and in Hesse, if the children peer into the watery mirror of a well, like Narcissus, they will see the babies waiting for the stork to come. In Bohemia, if you want babies, all you have to do is to fish them out of the wells with nets; but sometimes they get about in the fields, where, like the prince in the fairy-tale, they take the form of ordinary frogs.

In Nierstein things are a little different. There the baby is got from a great big lime-tree, the original of the English gooseberry-bush, which the learned have agreed to call Yggdrasil, but there also, if you listen quietly beside the tree, you will hear a spring gurgling out from its roots. And, indeed, there was a well called Wurdh that lay under Yggdrasil. (According to a fuller version of the legend, there were three springs under the life-tree, one gushing out of each root, Udarbrunnr, Mimisbrunnr, and Hvergelmir.)

In Brunswick, the Gode wells in the town furnish the babies, and in Frankisch-Henneburg they come from

the Kemele wells, where they sit on a stake until the midwife fetches them. At Ried, in the Inn-Viertel, they say that you will find the new babies in the well which lies behind the Pfarrenkirche at St. Pantaleon.

It is not always the stork who is the carrier of the babies. In some places in Germany it is the little beetle, known to English children as the lady-bird or lady-cow, that carries the souls of the children from the wells to their parents.¹

In some cases the babies are supposed to come from marshes, lakes, rivers, or the sea itself. The Basutos in South Africa told the missionaries that the human race originally came from a sedge-covered morass. In the mythology of Japan the lake of Fakone is regarded as the dwelling-place of the children's souls. In Lower Austria they say that the babies come from a tree that stands in the midst of the sea. The baby grows in a basket hanging on to the tree by a string.² When it is big enough, the string breaks and the basket swims through the water till it is caught.

Then we have the stork. It is not difficult to connect the stork with water, since he was the messenger of the rain and thunder god, to whom, it is supposed, as we shall see later on, children used to be sacrificed.

Now, at this point we see opened out before us that wide dominion of our lore associated with the goddesses of fertility. It is interesting, from our standpoint, to remember that the moon, waters, and women were all three connected together, and placed under the control of the goddess of fertility, because all three manifest curious natural phenomena, curiously similar.

In Iranian tradition, Anahita, the white-clad virgin moon-goddess is also the goddess of the waters "which were above the firmament," from which all earthly water

¹ Ploss, *loc.* i. 12.

² Physiologists will recognize the verisimilitude.

comes.¹ The Zend-Avesta tells us that she, like Chalchihuitlicue of Mexico, purified all human offspring and was the goddess of birth. In process of time, as we all know, Anahita specialized off into two goddesses, Aphrodite and Athene, passing through the phases of Astarte and of Isis, one of whose symbols was the fish. We cannot do more than just glance at this world-wide cult.

To return to our quest for facts suggesting a mystic link between children and water. It is obvious that if babies are to be had for the asking from wells, ponds, or rivers, then people who want them will know where to go in order to get them.

In the marriage rite, the Brahmins of Kanara, in India, take the newly-married couple to a pond, and make them throw rice into the water, and catch a few minnows, fish being the emblem of fertility in India to-day just as in Assyria thousands of years ago. The young people let all the minnows go, save one, and with its scales they mark their brows.²

At Khan-Jahan-Ali, in Jessore, India, young married women who desire a family frequent the tanks, and assiduously feed the water-gods, who, at that place, take the shape of crocodiles.³ It is a custom in Esthonia for a newly-married wife to drop a present into the well of the house.⁴ In Japan, a practice followed at a Shinto temple is for lovers to throw little pellets into a pond. If the newts at once rush out to seize the pellet, the omen is good, whereas if they do not do so, the omen is bad.⁵

In Bohemia, St. Anna takes charge of the still-born babies, but a father can make them live again, if he

¹ Ploss, *l.c.*, i. 47.

² Crooke, *l.c.*, p. 222.

³ Crooke, *l.c.*, p. 112.

⁴ Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, translated by Stallybrass, Lond. 1883, vol. ii., p. 497.

⁵ Chamberlain, B. H., "Notes on some Minor Japanese Religious Practices," *Transact. Anthropol. Instit.*, vol. xxii., p. 357.

likes, simply by cutting the head off a calf and throwing it over his own head over a bridge into the water, sacrificing to the water-god we may suppose. Then he must hurry home without looking back.¹

Of other waters where babies can be obtained, and where sterility can be cured, we may mention² in ancient Greece, the river Elatus in Arcadia and the Thespian well at Helicon. According to the reports of Sonidas and Photius, the well at Pyna also, on the Hymettos, in the vicinity of the temple of Aphrodite, possessed the property of curing sterility; and in ancient Roman times there were some wells at Baiac, near Pompeii, resorted to by women for the same reason.

In the mythology of India and China also, the supposed fertilizing power of water is met with. An Indian virgin goddess, as a result simply of bathing, gave birth to Ganesh, the elephant god; and the mother of the Chinese Buddha, Fo, had a similar experience.

In Algeria, not far from Constantine, there is a bath beside the well Burmal-ar-Rabba, which Jewish and Moorish women have used for ages in the hope of becoming mothers.

In Servia an offering of wine and some flour baked into a cake is made by women to flowing water, in order to remove the reproach of barrenness.

In and about Jerusalem, "childless couples will go long distances to bathe in certain pools, and barren women visit the hot springs in various districts, not, as might be supposed, for any medicinal properties, but because the jinn who causes the vapour is regarded as being capable, in a definite and physical sense, of giving them offspring."³

¹ Ploss, *l.c.*, i. 97.

² Ploss-Bartels, *Das Weib in der Natur- und Völkerkunde*, Leipzig, 1902, Bd. i., p. 679 *et seq.*

³ Spoer, Mrs. Hans H., "The Powers of Evil in Jerusalem," *Folk-Lore*, vol. xviii., No. 1, p. 55.

In England a number of wells are credited with the power of curing sterility. "Child's Well," in Oxford, "by the holyness of the chapleynes successively serving there, had vertue to make women that were barren to bring forth children."¹

I do not think it is going too far to look upon "wishing-wells" as having been originally wells where barrenness could be cured.

Another report bearing upon the association of wells and birth may be inserted here. Among certain tribes in India, on the 40th day after the birth of a boy, the impurity of the mother ceases, "but several rites must first be performed. There is the 'Kua-Jhanka' or peeping into the well, which is identical with the Subhachani among the Hindoos."²

Among the Deshasht Brahmans of Bombay, the father is purified after a birth in his family by jumping into a well with all his clothes on; after this he is allowed to drop honey and butter into the child's mouth as a sign of initiation into the caste.³

We have unearthed, then, quite a number of close links between children and water, especially in wells. But the tale is not yet complete.

Let us glance at a water-spirit, who, we may suppose, is fond of children, since he has so much to do with them. What sort of a creature is he?

Sometimes he is a horse, at other times he is a man with a shaggy beard, or a siren or kelpie singing with the sweetness of some other world songs which lure the rapt listener to destruction.⁴ But in addition to these we often find him assuming forms which connect him with babies or children.

¹ Hope, *l.c.*, p. 122.

² Risley, H. H., *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1891, p. 211.

³ Crooke, *l.c.*, p. 60.

⁴ Grimm, *l.c.*, vol. ii., pp. 491, 492.

In some places, as we have seen, he is a crocodile or a fish. In others he is a frog. In others, again, he is a snake or a worm.¹ And here, again, we come into contact with a branch of folk-lore not without bearing upon fertility.

In many places the water-gods are small beings who sometimes, it would seem, look very like children. In Russia, *e.g.*, the souls of wee unchristened bairns, when they die, soar up into the air, and you can hear them beg just three times for baptism. If some kind person accedes to this very proper request by pronouncing the appropriate prayers and formulae, the babies will go to heaven. If not, they will go into the rivers and become *Russalki*, that is river-gods like the Naiads and Nereids.² In South Russia these beings are called "Mafki."

Some tales from the old German mythology and folk-lore may be cited as further examples. Once upon a time a little girl was playing on the grass by the shore when she was seized by a pretty boy wearing a handsome peasant's belt. He wanted his head scratched, and forced her to do it for him. When she was busy at her task he quietly slipped the girdle round her without her noticing, and chained her, in this way, to himself. But she went on scratching all the same, until the boy, soothed by the friction, fell asleep. Then a woman came along and asked the little girl what she was doing. As she was explaining the situation to the new-comer, she slipped herself out of the girdle which was binding her to the boy. Meantime the boy lay asleep with his lips apart, and the woman went up and had a good look at him. "Why!" she exclaimed, "that is a nixie. Look at his fish's teeth!" And in a moment the nixie was gone.³

¹ Robertson-Smith, *l.c.*, p. 168; Hope, *l.c.*, p. 68 *et seq.*; Grimm, *l.c.*, vol. ii., p. 585.

² Ploss, *Das Kind*, vol. i., p. 104 and p. 97.

³ Grimm, *l.c.*, vol. ii., p. 49t.

At Acton, in Suffolk, "near the haunted corner, known as the nursery corner, is a pool called Wimbell Pond, in which, tradition says, an iron chest of money is concealed; if any daring person venture to approach the pond, and throw a stone into the water, it will ring against the chest, and a small figure has been heard to cry, in accents of distress, 'That's mine!'"¹

Striding across the world to New Zealand, we find water-babies there also, in the shape of *Ponaturi*, tiny little people dwelling in the water and coming ashore to sleep.²

The water-god, being fond of children, occasionally steals them.

In Hungary, *Wassermann* or *Wasserweib* steals babies and leaves changelings. In Bavaria the nixies, the water-spirits of Germany, steal healthy children and leave horrid little cretins behind in their stead.³ In Brandenburg the nicker or nixy, a mannikin small and grey, who spends his time sitting in the water, steals little unbaptized babies whenever he can, replacing them with his own goitrous brood. So that you are warned against going near the water with little children in Brandenburg,⁴ just as you must be careful in the same way near the Tees of Peg Powler.

In Silesia, Spillaholla takes the lazy children away with her into the wells when they die, in order to bring them again to other people who have not been able to get any babies.⁵

The water-sprites living in a lake in Catalonia once carried off a girl and kept her a prisoner in the lake for seven years.⁶ And a German tale tells how another girl once passed fifteen years in the sea-wife's house and never

¹ Hope, *l.c.*, p. 163.

² Tregear, *l.c.*, p. 97.

³ Ploss, *Das Kind*, vol. i., p. 112.

⁴ Ploss, *l.c.*, vol. i., p. 115.

⁵ Ploss, *l.c.*, vol. i., p. 96.

⁶ Grimm, *l.c.*, vol. ii., p. 597.

saw the sun the whole of the time. But at last her brother went down for her and managed to bring her safely back to the upper world. For seven long years the sea-wife awaited the return of the girl, and at last, when the time passed and she never appeared, the sea-wife got into a rage, and, seizing her staff, lashed the water until it splashed up high, and cried, "Had I trowed thou wert so false, I'd have nicked thy thievish neck."¹

Among the Lithuanians and Prussians there was an old fable of a personage known as *Laume*, who used to steal babies.² This *Laume* had a thunderbolt for her breast and a rainbow for her girdle, so she is, without doubt, another personification of the rain and thunder deity. The same deity is known as *Holla* in some parts of Germany. She also takes a lively interest in children. In North Germany the peasants say that the water-sprites steal their children. And in Oldenburg the *Schinonte*, who lives in holes and caverns, steals unbaptized children, and leaves behind a little being known as *Wasserweibchen*.³

In some German fairy tales, children who fall into wells come under the power of the water-nixie.⁴

Going one stage further in our enquiry, if the water-gods are supposed to be partial to little children, we ought to be able to find instances of child-sacrifice to wells and rivers.⁵ Now, although the dreadful crime of killing or forsaking new-born children has been a world-wide practice in ages past and is not abolished yet, and although we do come across cases where such children were destroyed by drowning, still I have only been able to find comparatively few examples of the deliberate sacrifice of children to water. A number of highly suggestive

¹ Grimm, *L.c.*, vol. ii., p. 494.

² Ploss, *L.c.*, Bd. i., p. 113.

³ Ploss, *L.c.*, Bd. i., p. 114.

⁴ Grimm, *L.c.*, vol. ii., p. 497.

⁵ See Grimm on this point, *L.c.*, vol. ii., p. 494 *et seq.*

folk-tales have been discovered, and will be narrated, which render highly probable the supposition that child-sacrifice to wells was not unknown in ancient Europe. But examination of the records of the folk-customs of modern savage tribes has not resulted in the discovery of many instances of this form of ritual murder. Probably a more careful and painstaking search than I have been able to devote to the investigation may reveal many more; and if special attention were directed to the subject while making enquiries among uncivilized races, further examples might perhaps come to light.

I have collected the following incidents and tales as bearing on the subject of sacrifice:

The ancient Franks, on crossing a river, sacrificed women and children.¹

The Aztecs of Mexico, whose baptismal ceremony we detailed at an earlier stage, on certain religious holidays, in accordance with a strictly observed rite, sacrificed infants at the breast on high mountains, or threw them into the lake which washes the city of Mexico, in honour of the god of rain.²

In India, as everyone knows, the Hindoo women used to sacrifice their children to the Ganges.

In ancient Egypt a virgin was probably thrown annually into the Nile, although Ebers, who discusses the matter, is inclined to doubt it. At all events, to this day, a figure made of Nile mud, and called "the Virgin," is thrown into the river.³

An old English story of a child and a well has already been told. Here is another one. "The village of Osmotherly is seven miles from Northallerton. Tradition has it that Osmund, King of Northumbria, and his wife, had an only son, Oswy, heir to his kingdom. The

¹ Hope, *l.c.*, xiii.

² *Prehistoric America*, p. 293.

³ Ebers, *Egypt*, vol. i., p. 199.

'wise' being consulted at his birth, foretold the child would on a certain day be drowned. The mother in every way endeavoured to stave off the catastrophe, and, as the time for the fatal event neared, she fled with the boy to the top of Osnaberg, or Roseberry Topping, as it is now called, safe, as she surmised, from any watery depths. Here she awaited the passing away of the fatal day. Having fallen asleep through fatigue, the young prince wandered away from her, and came across a small well. Seeing his face reflected in the water, he endeavoured to grasp it, fell in, and was drowned."¹

Other tales are told about several wells in England, in which the idea of sacrifice is clearly preserved.

In addition to these, Grimm details a few folk-sayings and legends with the same substratum.

The nixy, we are told, used to demand a cruel and compulsory sacrifice, of which the memory is still extant in popular tradition. To this day the rivers are supposed by the people to claim their yearly victim, just as we say :

"River of Dart ! River of Dart !
Every year thou claimest a heart."

This yearly victim was usually an innocent child.²

In Austria the villagers elect a Whitsun king, dress him up in green boughs, blacken his face, and pitch him into the brook.³

The following custom may be ascribed to the influence simply of sympathetic magic, but it nevertheless presents features highly suggestive of an attenuated sacrificial rite.

In Germany rain is obtained by the practice about to be described. "A little girl is completely undressed and led outside the town, where she is made to dig up

¹ Hope, *l.c.*, 184.

² Grimm, *l.c.*, vol. ii., p. 494.

³ Grimm, *l.c.*, vol. ii., p. 395.

henbane with the little finger of her right hand, and to tie it to the little toe of her right foot. She is then solemnly conducted by the other maidens to the nearest river, and splashed with water."¹

In the following tale the idea of a sacrifice to the rain and thunder god is distinct. The story comes from Oberhesse:

There was once upon a time a peasant who had a child that had been born during a thunderstorm. For this reason, as everybody knows too well, it was fated that the child should be struck by lightning. But the parents were unwilling to let him go. So every time a thunderstorm came on they hid him in the cellar until the skies became clear again. One day there arose the most frightful thunderstorm that ever had been known within the memory of man. The lightning flashed and the thunder rolled incessantly for eight days and nights, until at last it became evident to everybody that, if ever they were to see the sun again, they must let the poor little thunder-child meet his fate. So the parents brought their boy from his hiding place in the cellar, decked him out in white, as if he were a corpse, and led him out into the open courtyard. In a moment a bolt from heaven flashed down upon him and he was killed. From that moment the storm abated.²

In bringing to a close this account of the mystic connection between water and children, let me mention one or two customs, tales, etc., which may be of some value as corroborating the evidence I have led.

The Irish say that the souls of unbaptized children go into a great field shrouded in mist, in the midst of which is a well. Here they amuse themselves, sprinkling each other from little jugs, and pass the time away free from pains and penalties.³

¹ Grimm, *I.e.*, vol. ii., p. 593.

² Ploss, *I.e.*, Bd. i., p. 97.

³ Ploss, *I.e.*, Bd. i., p. 10.

The Japanese common people make use of a certain object known as *Nangi*, i.e. a printing-block, in a curious way. When a child dies the mother prints with this a hundred copies of the image of Jizo, who is the Sanscrit Kshitigarbha, it is said. At all events he is also a Japanese saint. Having printed the images, the mother drops them into a stream with an incantation. This saint, associated in this way with water, is also, it is interesting to note, the superhuman helper of those that are in trouble, and especially of dead children.¹

An old Teutonic fable tells how the moon (Mani) took two children away from the earth just as they were drawing water from the well Byrgyr. These children are the spots you see on the moon.²

The pretty custom of well-dressing may quite easily and naturally be associated with the child-cult of well-worship. In England the ceremony is almost entirely performed by children and young people, and the practice has relatives abroad, in Germany and in Holland. In Germany, not far from the Meisner mountain in Hesse, there is a high precipice with a cavern opening under it, which goes by the name of the Hollow Stone. Into this cavern every Easter Monday the youth and maidens of the neighbouring villages carry nosegays, and then draw some cooling water. No one will venture down unless he has flowers with him. They also draw water from the spring in jugs to carry home, and throw flowers in as an offering.³

We are told that a mysterious virtue attaches to water-lilies among the Frisians, and Dutch boys are said to be extremely careful in plucking or handling them, for, if a boy falls with some of these flowers in his possession, he immediately becomes subject to fits.⁴

¹ Chamberlain, *l.c.*, p. 356.

² Grimm, *l.c.*, vol. ii., p. 716.

³ Grimm, *l.c.*, vol. ii., p. 586.

⁴ Black, *l.c.*, p. 12.

In the Middle Ages the wells we know as holy were frequently resorted to by people for the restoration of youth.¹

We remember the myth of Achilles being rendered invulnerable by his mother dipping him, while an infant, in the river Styx.

Homer's heroes were mostly children of the river-gods, like the Tweedies of the Scottish border, who trace their descent from the river Tweed.² I am scarcely bold enough to add the finding of Moses in the bulrushes of the Nile to this list. But I can safely include the ballad of Hugh of Lincoln, who was enticed by a Jewess, murdered, and thrown into a well, out of the depths of which, however, he was able to describe his misfortune.

We have been able to show then that the cure of children's diseases at wells is but one of many links binding little children and water in a close and mystic communion. Let us recapitulate these links:

(1) Little children are taken to wells and springs for the cure of disease, and in order to prevent disease.

(2) According to the folk-beliefs of Germany and elsewhere, babies come from wells.

(3) The deities of rain and water in many parts of the world were also the deities of fertility and birth.

(4) Sterility among women is often treated by bathing.

(5) The water-spirit assumes at times the form of a child or a small person.

(6) Water-spirits show their fondness for children by stealing them.

(7) There is a certain amount of evidence to show that in some parts of the world children used to be sacrificed to water and wells.

¹ Grimm, *l.c.*, vol. ii., p. 588.

² Hope, *l.c.*, xiv.

Taken singly, any one of these facts would only arouse that slight and transient interest we experience when we meet with any curious circumstance, but taken together in a mutually supporting series, they form, in my opinion, insurmountable evidence that in the minds of the earlier inhabitants of the world a close bond subsisted between infants and water, particularly in wells, ponds, and rivers. Several German archaeologists are inclined to refer the folk-sayings about the origin of children from wells, springs, etc., to the idea that what was really meant was, that children came from the clouds,¹ the source of all water. And although there are some places where this idea of cloudland seems predominant in the folk-mind, yet I am inclined to the opinion that it would be more correct to say that the connection was not between children and clouds, so much as between children and water generally, whether in the clouds, in the sea, in rivers, or in wells.

I have, I think, conclusively demonstrated that the bond was not forged by the practice of baptism. And it only remains for me to state what I think to be the most natural explanation of the origin of all these beliefs about wells and children.

It is true that the explanation I am about to offer is purely theoretical, but it has at least the merit of simplicity.

I should say that the origin of the connection between water and children, in early times supposed to be actual and physical, in later days mystic only, was two-fold, being based upon two natural facts, viz.:

(1) That children in the pre-natal period do actually live in water; and,

(2) That there is a natural association between fertility and water, seen plainly in the vegetable world.

¹ Ploss, quoting Adolf Wuttke, *l.c.*, vol. i., p. 11.

In order to account for the sanctity attaching to wells as creators and begetters of children, we may suppose, to take one further step into the region of probabilities, that if one of our forebears, his mind already tinged with the natural association of water and babies, lost one of his children by drowning in a well, it would be very natural for him to suppose that in that well there abode a Being who gave and took children as he saw fit, and who, therefore, must be propitiated by gifts of that which he loved the best. Finally, it would be easy for the savage to suppose, that as the spirit of life of the well was also the spirit of life of children, then immersion in a well would renew the life of ailing and weakly children.

Here, at last, is the answer we set out to find.

DAN M'KENZIE.

THE GRAIL AND THE RITES OF ADONIS.

BY JESSIE L. WESTON.

(*Read at Meeting, 19th December, 1906.*)¹

IN offering these remarks on the subject of the Grail origins, I should wish to be understood as seeking, rather than tendering, information. The result of my researches into the *Perceval* legend has been to cause me to form certain opinions as to the sources of the Grail story, which the exigencies of space, and the character of the *Studies* as a whole, prevented me from setting forth fully in the published volume. At the same time these conclusions bore so directly on folklore researches that I was strongly impressed with the desirability of bringing them to the attention of trained folklorists, that I might have the advantage of their criticism and judgment in finally formulating my theory. Not that I can claim to be the first to give expression to such views. Long since Simrock, in his translation of the *Parzival*, and Professor Martin, in his *Zur Gralsage Untersuchungen* (1880),² arrived at very similar conclusions, but at that time the critical material at their disposal was scanty. We lacked the illuminating labours of Mannhardt and his disciple, Dr. J. G. Frazer. We had but one *Perceval* text, and that an extremely bad one, at our disposal, and in consequence the results obtained, though interesting and stimulating, were hardly convincing.

¹ See *ante*, p. 4.

² Cf. also *Zeitschrift für D. Alterthumskunde*, 1878; p. 84 sqq.

Hitherto, in criticising the Grail legend, we have been under the grave disadvantage of uncertainty as to the relative position of the extant versions of the story; we were not sure which of the varying forms represented most faithfully the original *données* of the tale. It is obvious that this was a serious hindrance. You cannot safely theorize as to the original form of a story while you are still in doubt as to which of certain widely differing versions is the older. Inasmuch as, in point of MS. date, the *Perceval* of Chrétien de Troyes is the oldest of our Grail romances, the tendency has been to regard the story as told by him as the most nearly approaching the original, and to argue from that; although the vague and unsatisfactory details there given left it open to conjecture whether the author were dealing with a tradition already formed, or with one in process of formation.

Now, owing to recent discoveries, the standpoint has been shifted back, and we know that the earliest attainable Grail story is that of which not Perceval but Gawain was the hero, and the authorship of which is ascribed not to Chrétien de Troyes, but to Bleheris the Welshman. The date at which Bleheris lived is uncertain, but his identity alike with the Bledhericus referred to by Giraldus Cambrensis, and the Bréri quoted as authority for the *Tristan* of Thomas, has been frankly accepted by the leading French and American scholars; so far the Germans have preserved silence on the subject.¹

The passage in Giraldus is unfortunately very vague; he simply refers to Bledhericus as '*famosus ille fabulator*,' and says he lived 'a little before our time,' words which may mean anything. Giraldus may be using the editorial 'we,' and may mean 'a little before my time,' which, as he

¹ Cf. M. J. Bédier's edition of the *Tristan*, and Dr. Schofield's *English Literature*. For my notes on Bleheris, cf. *Romania*, xxxiii. p. 333, xxxiv. p. 100.

was writing in the latter half of the twelfth century, might imply that Bledhericus lived in the earlier half. But he may also have used the pronoun quite indefinitely; as M. Ferdinand Lot, with whom I discussed the question, remarked, "it may mean anything from ten to a hundred years; we might say that Bonaparte lived 'a little before our time.'" When we take into consideration the fact that only three direct references to Bleheris, or Blihis, as a source, have been preserved, while the name is more frequently found in the duplicated form of¹ Bleo-Bleheris, Blihos-Bliheris, or Bliobliheri, and generally attached to a knight of Arthur's court, it seems most probable that he lived at a period sufficiently remote to allow of the precise details concerning his life and work to become obscured, while the tradition of his close connection with Arthurian romance was retained. In any case this much is certain, and this is what principally concerns us, his version of the Grail story is older than that of Chrétien, and we are justified in seeking for indications of origin in the story as told by him rather than in the version of the younger poet.

This is the Bleheris Grail story, as given by Wauchier de Denain, in his continuation of the *Perceval*.²

Arthur, at the conclusion of his successful expedition against Chastel Orguellous, has given the queen *rendez-vous* at certain cross roads, marked by four pine trees. Here the court awaits him. One evening the queen is playing chess at the entrance of her pavilion when a stranger knight rides past, and fails to offer any salutation. Indignant at the apparent discourtesy, the queen sends Kay after him to command his return. Kay, as is his wont, carries out his commission in so ungracious and insulting a manner that he is overthrown

¹ B.N. 1453, fo. 113; '*Elucidation*'; B.M. Add. 10, 614, fo. 138, etc.

² A translation of this, the *Dieu Créne*, and Prose *Lancelot* versions will be found in No. vi. of *Arthurian Romances*, Nutt.

for his pains, and returns to court with an exaggerated account of the knight's bearing and language. Gawain is then dispatched on the same errand, and, overtaking the stranger, courteously invites his return, but is told that he rides on a quest that will brook no delay, and which none but he may achieve; nevertheless, he thinks it possible that Gawain, whose identity he has learned, might succeed. On his return he will gladly pay his respects to the queen.

Gawain, however, by soft words, persuades him to return, pledging his honour that he shall in no wise suffer by the delay. They turn back, but scarcely have they reached the tents when the knight, with a loud cry, falls forward, wounded to death by a javelin cast by an unseen hand. With his dying breath he bids Gawain don his armour, and mount his steed, which shall carry him to the destined goal. Gawain, furious at the slur cast on his honour by this breach of his safe-conduct, does as requested, and, leaving the dead body to the care of the queen, departs at once.

Through the night he rides, and all the next day, till he has passed the borders of Arthur's land, and at nightfall, wearied out, he finds himself in a waste land by the sea-shore. A causeway, bordered on either side by trees, their roots in the water, runs out from the land, and at the further end Gawain sees a light, as of a fire. The road is so dark, and the night so stormy, he would fain delay till morning, but the steed, taking the bit in its teeth, dashes down the pathway, and eventually he reaches the entrance to a lighted hall. Here he is at first received as one long-expected, but, having unhelmed, is seen to be a stranger, and left alone. In the centre of the hall stands a bier, on which lies a body, covered with a rich pall of crimson silk, a broken sword on the breast, and four censers at the four corners of the bier. A procession of clergy enters, headed

by a silver cross, and followed by many folk. Vespers for the dead are sung amid general lamentation, and Gawain is again left alone. He now sees on the dais a Lance, fixed in a silver socket, from which a stream of blood flows continuously into a golden cup, and thence, by a channel, is carried out of the hall. Servants prepare the tables for a meal, and the King of the castle, entering, greets Gawain kindly, and seats him beside him on the dais. The butlers pour wine into the cups, and from a doorway there issues '*the rich Grail*,' which serves them; otherwise there is '*nor serjant nor seneschal*,' and Gawain marvels much at the service of the Grail, for now 'tis here, and now there, and for fear and wonder he scarce dare eat. After supper the King leads Gawain to the bier, and, handing him the broken sword, bids him resolder it. This he fails to do, and the King, shaking his head, tells him he may not accomplish the quest on which he has come; nevertheless, he has shewn great valour in coming thither, and he may ask what he will; he shall be answered. Gawain asks of the Lance: 'tis the Lance of Longinus, with it the side of the Saviour was pierced, as he hung on the Cross, and it shall remain where it now is, and bleed, till the Day of Doom. The King will tell who it is who lies on the bier, of the stroke by which he met his death, and the destruction brought on the land thereby; but as he speaks, weeping the while, Gawain falls asleep, and wakes to find himself upon the seashore, his steed fastened to a rock beside him, and all trace of the castle vanished. Wondering much, he mounts his steed, and rides through a land no longer waste, while all the folk he meets bless and curse him; for, by asking concerning the Lance, he has brought about the partial restoration of fruitfulness. Had he also asked of the Grail, the curse would have been entirely removed.

Now, there are certain points in this story which cannot fail to strike those familiar with the Grail legend. Who are the two dead men of the tale, the knight so mysteriously slain and the Body on the bier? We never learn. Nor do we ever hear the nature of the quest—Was it to avenge the dead knight of the castle? Was it to break the spell upon the land? Manessier, who about fifty years later brought the *Perceval* compilation to a final conclusion, gives, indeed, what purports to be a continuation of the tale. Gawain is here besought by the sister of the knight slain in his company to come to her aid against a foe, but the story is *banale* to the last degree. There are points of contact with other versions: the maiden's name is '*la sore pucele*,' the name Chrétien gives to the Grail King's niece; her foe is King Mangons, or Amangons, the name of the oppressor of the maidens in the *Elucidation*, to which we shall refer presently; but if there be any original connection with the Bleheris version, that connection has become completely obscured. Manessier, too, makes no attempt at solving the mystery of the Body upon the bier: certain scholars have indeed identified the slain man with Goon-Desert, or Gondefer, the brother of Manessier's Grail King, whose death by treachery Perceval avenges. But this identification is purely arbitrary; there is no bier in Manessier, it is, in fact, distinctively a feature of the *Gawain* version.

The connection of the wasting of the land with the death of the knight, if knight he were, is also uncertain; indeed this is a part of the story which appears to have been designedly left in obscurity—it is at this point that Gawain falls asleep. I am tempted to believe that those who told the tale were themselves at a loss here. Then the Grail is no Christian relic, it acts simply as a food-providing talisman, coming and going without visible agency. It is called the *rich*, not the *holy*, Grail.

Nor does the explanation given of the Lance agree with the description; the stream of blood, which pours continuously from the weapon, and is carried out of the hall, whither, we are not told, can have no connection with the carefully-guarded relic of the *Saint Sang*. In truth, we may say without hesitation that the whole machinery of the story is definitely non-Christian, and that the explanation of its peculiarities must be sought outside the range of ecclesiastical tradition. At the same time certain of these features are repeated in a persistent fashion, even in the most definitely ecclesiasticised versions; a peculiarity which, I think, justifies the supposition that they form a part of the original Grail tradition.

Now it has seemed to me that an explanation of the most characteristic features of our story may be found in the suggestion that they are a survival, misunderstood and imperfectly remembered, of a form of Nature worship closely allied to, if not identical with, the Rites of Adonis so exhaustively studied by Dr. Frazer in *The Golden Bough*. It will be remembered that the essence of these rites was the symbolic representation of the annual processes of Nature, the sequence and transition of the seasons. The god, Adonis, or Tammuz, or whatever he was called in the land where the rites were celebrated, typified the vivifying principle of vegetation; his death was mourned as the death of vegetation in winter, his restoration to life was hailed as its restoration in spring. An effigy representing the dead god was honoured with all the rites of mourning, and subsequently committed to the waves. Women especially played so large a part in these rites that an Arabic writer of the tenth century refers to the festival as *El-Bugât*, 'the festival of the Weeping Women.'¹

The central *motif* of the *Gawain* Grail-story is, I

¹ Cf. *Legend of Sir Perceval*, pp. 330-36; *The Golden Bough*—under heading 'Adonis,' *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, chap. viii.

submit, identical with the central idea of the Adonis rites—a death, and failure of vegetation caused by that death. Both here and in the version given by the curious German poem of *Diû Crône*, where Gawain is again the Grail hero, we are told that the wasting of the land was brought about by the *Dolorous Stroke*. Thus the central figure, the Body on the bier, whose identity is never made clear, would in this view represent the dead god; the bleeding Lance, the weapon with which he was done to death (I think it more probable that the *Dolorous Stroke* was dealt by a Lance or Spear, as in the *Balin and Balan* story, than by a sword).

If we accept this view we can, I think, explain the origin of that mysterious figure of the Grail legend, the Maimed King. The fact that this central figure was at the same time dead and alive must, when the real meaning of the incidents had become obscured, and the story, imperfectly remembered, was told simply as a story, have been a source of perplexity to the tellers. An easy way out of the difficulty—it was a very real difficulty—would be to represent the king, or god, as desperately wounded. That such an idea was in the minds of the romance writers appears, I think, from the peculiar version of *Diû Crône*, where, when Gawain has asked concerning the Grail, the Maimed King and his attendants vanish at daybreak; they were dead, but preserved a semblance of life till the question was put. If the *Gawain* versions really represent the older, and primary, group, it is possible that this particular rendering really preceded the Maimed King version, though in the form preserved it is combined with it.

Again, in the very curious and unique *Merlin* MS., No. 337 of the French MSS. of the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, we find that Perceval is called the son of the widow lady, while his father, the Maimed King, is yet alive, and it

is explained that, being desperately wounded, and only to be healed when the quest is achieved, he is as good as dead, and his wife may be reckoned a widow. These two instances will suffice to shew that the transformation of the Body on the bier into the Maimed King on the litter, is neither impossible nor unnatural. The two are really one and the same.

Students of the Grail cycle will hardly need to be reminded that the identity of the Maimed King is a hopeless puzzle. He may be the Fisher King, or the Fisher King's father, or have no connection with either, as in the Evalach-Mordrains story. He may have been wounded in battle, or accidentally, or wilfully, or by supernatural means, as the punishment of too close an approach to spiritual mysteries. A proof of the confusion which ultimately resulted from these conflicting versions is to be found in the *Merlin* MS. above referred to, where not only Perceval's father but two others are Maimed Kings, and all three sit at the Table of the Grail. If such confusion existed in the mind of the writers, no wonder that we, the readers, find the path of Grail criticism a rough and intricate one! Probably the characters of the Maimed King and the Fisher King were originally distinct, the Maimed King representing, as we have suggested, the god, in whose honour the rites were performed; the Fisher King, who, whether maimed or not, invariably acts as host, representing the Priest. It would be his office to preside at the ritual feast, and at the initiation of the neophyte, offices which would well fit in with the character of Host. Here, the name of Fisher King is not given to him, but in certain texts which interpolate the history of Joseph of Arimathea he is identified with that Monarch. It will readily be understood that when the idea that the god was alive gained possession of the minds of those who told the story, there would be two lords of the castle, and

they would find some difficulty in distinguishing the rôle of the one from that of the other. We may note that in this (*i.e.*, the Bleheris) version, in that of Wauchier de Denain at the conclusion of his section of the *Perceval*, in the Prose *Lancelot*, and in the *Queste*, the Host is not maimed.

Again, this proposed origin would explain the wasting of the land, the mysterious Curse of Logres, which is referred to alike in earlier and later versions, and of which no explanation is ever given. As we saw above, the essence of the Rites was the symbolic representation of the processes of Nature. The festival of the death and revival of the god took place at the Spring solstice; it was an objective parable, finding its interpretation in the awakening of Nature from her winter sleep. Here the wasting of the land is in some mysterious manner connected with the death or wounding of the central figure; the successful accomplishment of the Grail quest brings about either the restoration of the land to fruitfulness, or the healing of the King (Chrétien and Wolfram, for example, have no Wasted Land). Thus the object of the Quest would appear to be one with that of the Adonis-ritual.

This wasting of the land is found in three *Gawain* Grail-stories, that by Bleheris, the version of *Chastel Merveilleux*, and *Diû Crône*; it is found in one *Perceval* text, the Gerbert continuation. Thus, briefly, the object of the Rites is the restoration of Vegetation, connected with the revival of the god; the object of the Quest is the same, but connected with the restoration to health of the King.¹

I have before noted the fact that the rôle played by

¹ *Legend of Sir Perceval*, p. 141. In the Didot MS. of the prose *Perceval* we are told that as the result of the question the 'Roi Pesheor' will not only be healed but restored to youth, '*revenus en sa jeunesse*.' This is also the result of the question in *Parivaal*. According to Dr. Frazer, it was an essential part of this Nature-cult that the god should be not merely living, but young.

women in these rites was of such importance that eventually it gave a name to the Festival. In the Notes to my translation of three visits paid by Gawain to the Grail Castle, I remarked on the persistent recurrence in these stories of a weeping maiden or maidens, the cause of whose grief is never made clear. In *Diû Crône*, where, as we have seen, the Maimed King and his court have but the semblance of life and are in very truth dead, the Grail-bearer and her companions are the only living beings in the castle, and their grief is, in a measure, comprehensible; they desire the breaking of the spell which binds them to this uncanny company. In what, in the *Perceval Studies*, I have designated as the *Chastel Merveilleux* version, a version midway between that of Bleheris and of Chrétien, there is but one weeping maiden, the Grail-bearer. In the curious interpolation of the Heralds' College MS., when the broken sword is restored to the Fisher King, he mentions among the results of the successful achievement of the quest, that the hero shall know why the maiden weeps. I doubt very much whether the writer of the lines himself knew the reason! In the visit paid by Bohort to castle Corbenic, it is Elaine, daughter of King Pelles, who weeps, because, being no longer a maiden, she may no longer be Grail-bearer. As she is about to become the mother of the Grail winner, and knows to what honour her son is predestined, the explanation is not convincing; but there had to be a weeping maiden in the story. The most curious instance of the persistence of this part of the original tradition is to be found in Gawain's visit to Corbenic, in the prose *Lancelot*, where he sees not one, but twelve maidens kneeling at the closed door of the Grail chamber, weeping bitterly, and praying to be delivered from their torment. But the dwellers in Castle Corbenic, so far from being in torment, have all that heart can desire, and, moreover, the honour

of being guardians of the (here) sacred and most Christian relic, the Holy Grail.¹

Now, in the light of the parallels already cited, is it not at least possible that these weeping maidens, who wail so mysteriously through the Grail story, are a survival of, and witness to, the original source of that story, that they are the mourning women of the Adonis ritual, the 'Women weeping for Tammuz'?

This interpretation would also explain the constant stress laid upon the *general* mourning, even when the reason for this mourning appears inadequate, as *e.g.* in the *Parsival*. Here we are told that the appearance of the bleeding Lance is the signal for such lamentation that "*The folk of thirty kingdoms could scarce have bemoaned them more,*" Bk. v. l. 130. Here certainly the Lance is that with which the king has been wounded, but the *folk* of the castle are in no way affected, there is no wasting of the land.

Again, in *Peredur*, at the appearance of the Lance all fell to wailing and lamentation, but here there seems to be no connection between the Lance and the wound of the king, which latter is the work of the sorceresses of Gloucester. If the original source of the story is to be found in the Adonis ritual, and if the mourning which is so marked a feature of that ritual be associated, as Drs. Robertson Smyth and Farnell have suggested, rather with the death of the god than with the consequent failure of vegetation,² then we might expect to find the association of the mourning with the weapon which originally dealt the fatal blow to persist in versions which had dropped out the (originally) companion feature of the Wasted Land.

We have thus the following important points of contact between the Adonis ritual and the story of the Visit to

¹ Cf. Notes to vol. vi. of *Arthurian Romances*.

² Cf. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, vol. ii., 'Aphrodite.'

the Grail Castle: the wasted land; the slain king (or knight); the mourning, with special insistence on the part played by women; and the restoration of fertility; while certain minor points, such as the crimson covering of the bier, the incense, and the presence, in certain versions, of doves as agents in the mysterious ceremonies also find their parallel in the same ritual.¹

To put the matter briefly, the scene enacted in the presence of the chance visitor to the Grail Castle involved the chief incidents of the Adonis rites. I would submit that whereas the presence of an isolated feature might be due to chance, that of a complete and harmonious group, embracing at once the ceremonies and the object of the cult, can scarcely be so explained.

To go a step further. Originally I entitled this paper '*The Grail and the Mysteries of Adonis.*' For the word *mysteries* I have now substituted *ritual*, in view of the perfectly well-grounded objection that, in classical times, the worship of Adonis was not carried on in secret. Nevertheless, I am disposed to believe that the word *mysteries* might, without impropriety, be used in connection with the celebration of these rites when in later ages Christianity had become the faith 'in possession,' and the votaries of an older cult performed their rites under the ban of ecclesiastical disapproval. Much, of course, depends upon the character of the cult; the Adonis worship was in its essence a 'Life' cult, the life of the god ensuring the life of vegetation, and that in its turn the life of man; it is obvious that such a cult might possess an esoteric as well as an exoteric significance. To the ordinary worshipper the ritual would be an object-lesson, setting forth the actual processes of Nature, to the

¹Cf. Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, p. 7. The image of Tammuz was clothed in red, and incense was burnt before it. Doves were sacrificed to Adonis; *ib.*, p. 64. Doves appear both in the prose *Lancelot Grail* Visit and in *Parsival*.

initiate it would be the means of imparting other, and less innocent, teaching as to the sources of life.

This much is certain: the Grail is perpetually treated as something strange, mysterious, awe-inspiring; its secrets are on no account to be rashly approached or lightly spoken of; he runs great danger who does so. Such terms could hardly be applied to the Adonis rites under ordinary conditions, and yet, as we have seen, the Grail story presents such a striking identity of incident with these rites that a connection between the two seems practically certain. We have to seek for some explanation which will preserve this connection while at the same time accounting for the presence of certain 'occult' features in the tale.

The explanation surely lies in the fact suggested above, that the Adonis cult was essentially a Life cult, and, as such, susceptible of strange developments. Dr. Frazer has laid stress on the close connection which, in the minds of primitive worshippers, subsisted between the varying forms of life: "They commonly believed that the tie between the animal and vegetable world was even closer than it really is—to them the principle of life and fertility, whether animal or vegetable, was one and indivisible."¹ Dulaure, while assigning the same *origin* as does Dr. Frazer to the ritual, definitely classes the worship of Adonis among those cults which "assumed in process of time a distinctly 'carnal' character."²

The Lance and Cup which form the central features of the imagery of our story are also met with as 'Phallic' symbols, and I am strongly of opinion that many of the most perplexing features³ of the legend are capable of

¹ Cf. *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, p. 5.

² Cf. Dulaure, *Divinités Génératrices*, pp. 69-70.

³ E.g., the wounding of the Grail king. Cf. Dulaure, pp. 78, 81. The *Parzival* alone attributes the wound to his indulgence in unlawful love, but the injury is always the same.

explanation on the theory that behind the ordinary simple 'Vegetation' symbolism there lay something which justified so learned and acute a scholar as the late Professor Heinzel, whose works are a veritable mine of learning and ingenuity, in regarding our records of the Visit to the Grail Castle as records of an initiation *manquée*. Long since, in his study on the Old French Grail romances (*Die Alt-Französische Gral Romanen*, 1891) he suggested that the failure to put the question was equivalent to a refusal on the part of the neophyte to submit to the ordeal,¹ but, owing probably to the form in which he cast the results of his researches, much of their value has been obscured.

Let us note first, that whatever else changes in the story, the essential framework remains the same. Always the castle is found by chance; always the hero beholds marvels he does not comprehend; always he fails to fulfil the test which would have qualified him to receive the explanation of those marvels; always he recognises his fault too late, when the opportunity has passed beyond recall; and only after long trial is it again granted to him. Let us clear our minds once and for all from the delusion that the Grail story is *primarily* the story of a quest; it is that *secondarily*. In its primary form it is the romance of a lost opportunity; for always, and in every instance, the first visit connotes failure; it is to redress that failure that the quest is undertaken. So essentially is this a part of the story that it survives even in the Galahad version; that immaculate and uninteresting hero does not fail, of course; but neither does he come to the Grail castle for the first time when he presides at the solemn and symbolic feast; he was brought up there, but has left it before the Quest begins; like his predecessors, Gawain and Perceval, he goes forth from the castle in order to return.

¹ Prof. Heinzel's method was very confused, and references to the question are scattered throughout the long study.

Now, let us accept for the nonce Professor Heinzel's suggestion, but for the word *refusal* substitute *failure*, and recognising that the incidents related rest upon real objective facts, we may, perhaps, hazard a guess at the cause of this failure. In the Bleheris story we have seen that the hero was overcome by slumber at the critical moment of the King's recital, and only awoke to find himself alone upon the seashore, all trace of the castle having disappeared. This is again the cause of failure in the *Chastel Merveilleux* version. In the *Perlesvaus* three drops of blood fall from the lance on to the table, and Gawain, gazing upon them, falls into a trance, and can neither speak nor stir. In *Diù Crône* we have again the mysterious slumber, though here associated with the drinking of wine, the effect of which is to plunge Gawain's comrades, Lancelot and Calogreant, into a sleep which lasts till the question has been put, and the marvels explained. In this version also, we have the blood drops; but here, though they fall from the Lance, they are swallowed by the King, thus having no connection with the trance.

In the *Perceval* version, on the contrary, the blood drops are connected with a trance, but not with the Grail; and the hero's failure is accounted for on purely rational grounds, his too rigid adherence to the counsels of Gurnemanz.¹

As we have seen, the *Gawain* versions certainly represent the older stage of tradition, and we may, therefore, fairly assume that, in the original form of the story, the failure to ask the necessary question was due to a mysterious slumber which overtook the hero

¹ In the prose *Perceval*, however, there is a hint of the earlier form, as fatigue also plays a part in the hero's failure to ask the necessary question: — 'e li sire le metoit en maintes manieres de paroles por çou qu'il l'en demandast, mais il n'en fist riens, car il estoit anoles des li nuis devant qu'il avoit vellie, que por un poi qu'il ne chaoit sor la table.' Modena MS., fol. 59.

at the crucial point of his test. But what caused this slumber? Is it too bold a suggestion that the blood drops, which are often so closely associated with the Grail, and are always found in connection with a trance, were the operating cause? that, in fact, they were employed to induce an hypnotic slumber on the part of the aspirant? We know that in Mesmerism and kindred practices, the first step is to seize and fix the attention of the subject—I believe a glittering disc, or some such object, is often employed—in any case it is through the eye that the desired effect is produced upon the brain. In the case of Gawain, and of Perceval alike, we are told that it is the startling contrast of colour—the crimson blood on the white cloth, or snow—that fetters their attention. It is of course *possible* that the slumber was merely a literary device for winding up the story, but the introduction of the feature of restored vegetation shows that the tale was moulded by some one who understood its real significance; and slumber hypnotically induced would be a very natural method of getting rid of an intruder who had stumbled upon rites not intended for general knowledge, and had failed to qualify for admission to their secrets. This much is certain, if the Grail stories have their root in the ritual of Adonis, we are dealing with a set of concrete facts, which must originally have admitted of a rational explanation. I would submit that if the slumber be really a part of the original tale, and there is every reason to believe that it is, then it must be capable of a rational explanation, and I can, in no other way, account for its constant recurrence, or for its connection with the blood drops, save on the hypothesis that one of the trials to which the neophyte was exposed, and to which apparently he frequently succumbed, was the test of hypnotic suggestion.

But how shall we explain the Grail itself? Would

it not be the vessel of the common quasi-sacramental feast always connected with these rites? It is interesting that the MS. which gives us the best Bleheris text also, in the same section of the work, offers us the only other instance I know of the use of the word *Grail*. When Gawain enters the castle of Brandelis, he finds a feast prepared, and boars' heads upon Grails of silver. The other MSS. have here substituted for *Grail* the word *Tailltor*. It is thus practically certain that the writer of these tales, when he used the word *Grail*, meant a Dish, and not a Cup. The magical features, the automatic service, the feeding of the guests with all kinds of meat, were probably later additions, borrowed by the story-tellers from the numerous food-providing talismans of folk lore. For we must ask ourselves how was the story told, from the inside or from the outside? That is, was it intended to be a method of preserving, and handing on, the tradition of these rites; or was it simply a story composed round this ritual as a centre? The first hypothesis would appear to involve the admission that the minstrels were the *conscious* guardians and transmitters of an occult tradition; a view which, in face of the close connection now proved to exist between the minstrel guilds and the monasteries, I do not feel able to accept. Also, we should then expect to find one clear and consistent version; and I suspect that that version would have been less susceptible of Christianisation. But if the tale were told from the outside, if it were a story based upon, quite possibly, the genuine experience of one who assisted by chance at the celebration of these rites, ignorant of their nature and meaning, we can understand how it would take and keep this particular form. One admitted to the full participation in this ritual might not talk about it, where one possessed of but a partial and outside

knowledge would be free to speak. And as the story passed from one to the other, is it not probable that while the initiated might venture to add or correct a feature, the uninitiated would introduce details which appeared to him suitable, but which were really foreign to the original trend of the tale? How, except on the hypothesis of some such origin, explain the persistent adherence to the framework of the story, or the hints as to the mysterious nature of the talisman, and the penalties to be incurred if its secrets are revealed? Do not let us forget that it is precisely in this, the earliest form of the tale, and in the confused version of the same offered by the *Elucidation*, that the *secret* character of the Grail is insisted upon. On any other hypothesis, what is this secret?

And now that I have had occasion to mention the *Elucidation*, I would ask, does not this theory of the Grail origins provide us, at last, with a possible solution of that most perplexing text? As is known to students of the subject, the *Elucidation* purports to be an introduction to the Grail story, and is found in three texts, the Mons MS. of the *Perceval*, the Middle German translation of the continuation to that poem, and the (1530) printed edition of the work. It is extremely confused, and its connection with the other Grail texts has till recently been a complete puzzle. It starts with a warning from Master Blihis against revealing the secrets of the Grail. It then relates how at one time there were maidens dwelling in the hills, or wells, (the original word, *puy*s, might be translated either way; I prefer the rendering of the German text, hills), who would offer food and drink to the passer by; but when King Amangons offered force to one, and took away her golden cup, they left the country; and, the writer goes on, "the court of the Fisher King could no longer be found." Nevertheless, Gawain found it; and we then

have a summary of the Bleheris visit, given in terms often verbally identical with the text of Wauchier de Denain.

Some time ago, in the course of my *Perceval* studies, I came to the conclusion that the text at the root of the *Elucidation* was another, and apparently later, form of that used by Wauchier, and that in our English *Gatwain* poems we had fragments of the same collection. Now, it appears to me, that we can suggest even a closer link. What if this text be really what it purports to be, the introduction to all the Grail stories? If it be the record of an insult¹ offered by a local chieftain to a priestess of these rites, in consequence of which they were no longer openly celebrated in that land, and, as the writer puts it, "the court of the Fisher King (the Priest of this ritual) could no longer be found?" Would not that be the logical introduction to the tale of one who found, and knew not what he found? It may be that after all the *Elucidation* is not so badly named!

So far as the Christian aspect of the story is concerned, it is now beyond doubt that a legend, similar in all respects to that of the Grail, was widely current at a date long anterior to any of our extant Grail texts. The story, with Nicodemus instead of Joseph as protagonist, is told of two of the most famous of Continental relics, the *Saint Sang* of Fescamp and the *Volto Santo* of Lucca. The most complete MSS. of the *Perceval* refer, as authority, to a book written at Fescamp. Who was the first to utilise the pseudo-Gospels as material for the history of mediaeval relics we cannot say, but, given the trend of popular thought, it was practically inevitable that if the Grail were to receive the Christian pedigree which in the natural process of development in

¹ If there be really Phallic symbolism in the tale, the wording of the affront is suggestive.

a mediaeval atmosphere, given to edification, it was bound to receive, it was almost inevitable that it should be fathered upon either Joseph of Arimathea or Nicodemus; as a matter of fact both are called into the service of the romancers.¹

Given these facts, on the one hand an exceedingly popular story, having for its central point of interest a vessel round which there hovered an atmosphere of mystery and dread—none dare speak of the secrets of the Grail,—and connected in some unexplained manner with drops of blood and a bleeding lance: on the other hand, an equally popular legend connected with the Passion of Christ, and relics of that Passion; and does it not become easy to understand how on the common ground of the vessel of the ritual feast the two might meet, and eventually coalesce; the vessel of the Nature-worship being first connected with the Passion and finally identified with the chalice of the Eucharist. If I be correct in my suggestion as to the hidden meaning of this ritual, and that it was in truth a Life-cult, the Grail quest would be the quest for life; the Grail itself, under all its varying forms, the vessel in which the food necessary for life was presented to the worshippers.

I would earnestly ask all students of this fascinating subject to consider seriously whether the theory here sketched may not be found capable of providing that link between the conflicting versions which all previous hypotheses have failed to supply? On the theory of a purely Christian origin, how can we account for the obviously folk lore features of our tale? How could the vessel of the Christian Eucharist have become the self-acting, food-providing talisman, known not only to Bleheris, but also to the author of the *Queste*? How could Kiot, (the author of the lost French poem adapted by Wolfram

¹For summaries of these legends, cf. *Legend of Sir Perceval*, chap. v. appendix.

von Eschenbach), have dared to turn it into a mere magical stone, a Baetylus? For if there be one thing certain, it is that the Grail had been Christianised before the day of Chrétien and Kiot. If, on the other hand, the vessel were a mere food-providing Pagan talisman, how, and why, did it become so suddenly Christianised? what was there about it, more than about the countless similar talismans, that would suggest such a development? But if the Grail were from the first connected with a form of religious worship, from the first surrounded with a halo of awe and reverence, we can understand that it would lend itself with admirable readiness to the process of Christianisation. Even as we can understand how Kiot, who was certainly a man of unusual learning, while he might shrink from Paganising a fundamentally Christian relic, would have no scruple in substituting the object of one mysterious Pagan cult for that of another, and in replacing the vessel of the Adonis Rites by a Baetylus. One who knew so much may well have known what was the real character of the Grail. It seems to me that on this theory, and on this theory alone, can we account logically and harmoniously, alike for the development and the diversities of the Grail romances.

It is scarcely necessary to remind members of this Society that, in the interesting series of papers on the European Sky-God, contributed by Mr. Cook to the pages of *Folk-Lore*, certain stories connected alike with Cuchullin and Gawain, are claimed as dependent on, and to be explained by, precisely the set of customs and beliefs with which I am here dealing. If the Green Knight be a survival of the Vegetation god, why not the Maimed King? I do not know how far Mr. Cook's theories have met with the approval of folk-lore experts, but it does seem to me that when two enquirers, starting from different points, and travelling by different roads, reach precisely the same goal, there is at least an

initial probability that that goal was once, very long ago, no doubt, the starting point of those diverging roads.

JESSIE L. WESTON.

Postscript.—I would here make certain suggestions which may meet objections raised in the discussion which followed the reading of this paper. A point advanced alike by Mr. Nutt and Mr. Cook was that if the hypothesis of such an origin be granted, the connection of Gawain with this particular group of beliefs and practices can hardly be accidental. My own view is that the tale, based on actual and imperfectly-understood experiences, was cast into story-form by a bard who knew what the incidents connoted, and that the connection of Gawain with the tale is due to one who knew the real character of the material with which he was dealing.

AUSTRALIAN MARRIAGE CUSTOMS.

BY N. W. THOMAS.

TO deal seriatim with Dr. Howitt's defence of his position would, I fear, not make for enlightenment, at any rate so far as the casual reader is concerned. I continue the controversy, it is true, more in the hope of eliciting further facts from Dr. Howitt than for any other reason. I have already elicited from him (1) an admission that he has been guilty of a fundamental error in his account of *pirrauru* in *N.T.S.E.A.* and (2) the admission that the Kurnai terms *maian* and *bra* are not, as he has hitherto implied, strictly analogous to *noa*.

To reply in full to Dr. Howitt, and in particular to clear up all the errors into which he has fallen regarding my meaning, would be impossible. I can only ask him to read my remarks in the light of my definitions, not of his own. As I shall show below, his own terminology is extraordinarily lax, and to this is due such small confusions as I have fallen into.

It will be convenient to take in order the various points raised by Dr. Howitt's paper and to deal in succession with (1) questions of terminology, and in connection with it (2) Dr. Howitt's theory of social evolution, then (3) the origin of marital terms and the meaning of (4) *maian-bra* and (5) *kandri*, and (6) the area in which the *pirrauru* custom is found. I will then deal briefly with one or two subsidiary points.

Dr. Howitt gives the following summary of limitations

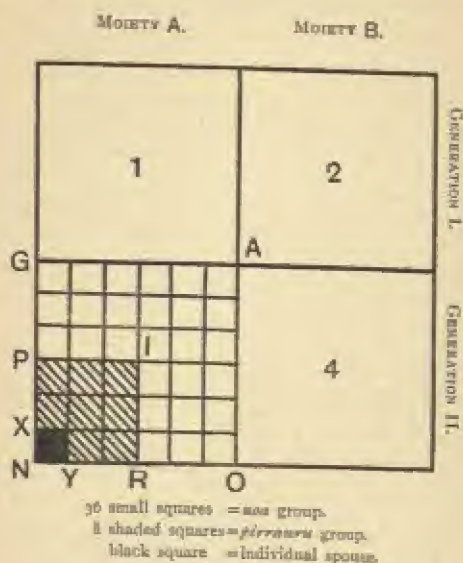
of marriage on p. 282 of *N.T.S.E.A.* At the outset there was (i) the undivided commune, where any male could marry any female; this I call "absolute promiscuity." (ii) Then came the segmentation of the tribe into two exogamous moieties, and a man is restricted in his choice of a wife to half the women of the tribe. In practice we find these tribes have regulations which make their marriage customs identical with (iii) the four-class tribes which limit a man's choice to one-fourth of the women of a tribe; (iv) the cross-cousin marriages of these tribes are forbidden by the Dieri, whose rule is identical with that of the eight-class tribes, and limits a man's choice to one-eighth of the women of a tribe.

These three systems I term "limited" or "modified promiscuity," and I term the kinship circle into which a man may marry the "*noa*-group."

(v) The Dieri and a few other tribes have, side by side with the individual marriage common to all the Australian tribes, a system which provides accessory spouses for married persons or gives unmarried men certain rights over women who are not their individual wives. This is known as *pirrauru*, and I term the circle which enters into this relation by the name of the "*pirrauru*-group," or "circle," though it is, in fact, merely a fluctuating set of legal paramours; at most, *kandri*-made *pirrauru* seems to be permanent.

In order to make things quite clear I take a typical four-class tribe; not the Dieri, as both their *kami*-relation and other modifications (legal fictions for facilitating illegal marriages) complicate matters. In such a tribe one-fourth of the women are *noa* (*i.e.* potential wives) or marriageable to a given man. In the accompanying diagram the women of such a tribe are shown divided into the four classes: a male of class 4 (in a matrilineal tribe) has the women of class 1 as "father's sisters," of 2 as mother's sisters, of 3 as *noa* (potential

wives), of 4 as sisters. If such a tribe were to practise *pirrauru* a certain number of *noa* women (who here number 36) become accessory spouses to the man; we may take their number at 8, and show the *pirrauru* circle by shading the squares indicating the women in question. Finally he has his individual wife, shown here by a black square.



I lay special stress upon the fact that the *noa* group is wider than the *pirrauru* group, and that all *noa* women do not in fact become the *pirrauru* of any single man, nor all *noa* men the *pirrauru* of any individual woman. I now turn to Dr. Howitt's paper.

The first point to which I wish to call attention is Dr. Howitt's failure to formulate a consistent theory. On p. 171 he asserts that what I call "modified promiscuity" must have preceded the creation of the *noa* group, that is to say that there was no stage intermediate between absolute promiscuity and the *pirrauru* marriage

of the present day. On p. 174, and again at the top of p. 177, without perceiving that he is contradicting his previous statement, he asserts that "the application of the term *ngaperi* to the other brothers who have not become *pirrauru*" (*i.e.* to all the men of the *noa* group) appears to be a vestigiary survival of what was once a fact. That is to say that between the "absolute promiscuity of the undivided commune" and the *pirrauru* marriage of the present day there *was* a stage, in which all the men of one *noa*-group were *de jure* husbands of all the women of another; and this view he emphasises on p. 181, where he asserts that the *kandri* ceremony is a restriction of the range of license within the *noa* group and creates the *pirrauru* group, while the *noa* relationship is itself a restriction on a former wider range of licence (*i.e.* absolute promiscuity). In order to make Dr. Howitt's error quite clear, I now quote from p. 172 (*cf.* the passage at the bottom of p. 177, contradicting that at the top) a sentence in which he affirms the view stated in the first of these three passages: "I consider the *noa* relationship as having restricted the range of an earlier and wider license to the present limits of the *pirrauru* marriage."

On p. 174, on p. 176 and on p. 183, Dr. Howitt charges me with not understanding the facts of *noa* and *pirrauru*. If this were in fact so, I should have ample justification in the confusions just quoted; but in fact the three passages from my remarks on those pages are absolutely accurate, and would have been clear to Dr. Howitt, even if he did not agree with them, had he read them in the light of my definitions and not tried to take my terminology in a sense of his own.

On p. 171 Dr. Howitt remarks, "Throughout my paper I spoke of *pirrauru* as group-marriage." As a matter of fact Dr. Howitt uses both group-marriage and *pirrauru* in two different senses, sometimes enlarging the

pirrauru circle and making it equivalent to the *noa* group, sometimes narrowing the *noa* to make it coincide with the *pirrauru* group (see Fig. 1). In *Folk-Lore*, xvii, p. 104, Dr. Howitt says that the tribes whose kinship terms he has just quoted had *pirrauru* marriage; among the tribes in question is the Arunta, and the term which Dr. Howitt mentions as in use among them is the word *unawa* (= *noa*). Now, as my diagram shows and as Dr. Howitt cannot but admit when he is challenged, the *noa* group is not as a rule co-extensive with any one *pirrauru* group, though it includes it; *pirrauru* is therefore used in this passage in the sense of *noa*-group-marriage. When, therefore, Dr. Howitt speaks of *pirrauru*, we are uncertain whether he means the extant Dieri custom or the conjectured institution which he asserts on p. 181 to have been restricted by the *kandri* ceremony.

Conversely, Dr. Howitt speaks of *pirrauru* as group-marriage (xvii. 185, xviii. 171, 185, etc.), and at the same time asserts the former existence of another kind of group-marriage among the Kurnai, whose terms *maianbra*, as I shall show below, correspond not to *pirrauru*, but to *noa*, in all essentials, Dr. Howitt's affirmation notwithstanding. There are therefore not only two kinds of *pirrauru*, but also two kinds of group-marriage, and Dr. Howitt leaves his readers to guess which he means in any particular passage. If he is misunderstood, his blood is on his own head.

(3) I now pass on to the third point of those mentioned above—the origin of the marital terms. Dr. Howitt asserts (p. 170) that "the (group) terms, husband and wife, father and mother, son and brother, all arise out of the *pirrauru* family." If by this Dr. Howitt means *pirrauru* in its only proper sense, that in which it is used by the Dieri, this statement is unfortunately absolutely misleading. Dr. Howitt has shown nothing of the sort and can show nothing of the sort, for the

simple reason that, as my diagram shows, the *noa* group is not co-extensive with any one *pirrauru* group, but more extensive, whereas use of the kinship terms mentioned by Dr. Howitt is limited by the *noa* group and not by the *pirrauru* group. A boy, for example, in the Dieri tribe applies the term *ngaperi* to the primary husband of his mother (XY in diagram¹), whether he is actually his progenitor or not, and *ngaperi-waka* to all his father's tribal brothers (NOAG), whether they are his mother's *pirrauru* (PIRN) or not. Dr. Howitt in fact admits as much on p. 174, line 21; yet he argues all through as if the *pirrauru* group were the limit of these kinship terms. Dr. Howitt's argument on p. 179 about the "group-mother" is vitiated by precisely the same error; no one who reads the passage would gather that a boy applies the term which we translate by the word mother, not only to his actual mother and to all the *pirrauru* spouses of his father, but also to all the women of his father's *noa* group, even to babies in arms; yet such is the case, though Dr. Howitt's argument is thereby reduced to an absurdity. Put in bald terms it comes to this: that the twenty-seven women of the *noa* group who are not *pirrauru* to a given boy's father are addressed by that boy as mothers, because eight or nine *other* women have relations with his father. Comment is needless.

In connection with marital terms, I must once more refer to my point as to *ngaperi* and *mungan* (xvii. 303). I charged Dr. Howitt with being guilty of a grave confusion in asserting that to the *ngaperi-waka* (Dieri) who is also *pirrauru*, is analogous in position the *breppa-mungan* (Kurnai). But little of Dr. Howitt's reply has any bearing on my contention, and what little does bear on it leaves my position absolutely untouched.

¹ For the text here the *noa*-group must be taken as composed of males, the wife belonging to class 4.

As I stated, the *ngaperi* is the primary husband of the woman, but not necessarily the progenitor of the boy who applies to him the term *ngaperi*; *ngaperi-waka* is applied by a boy to all the men who are *noa* to his mother; some of them are, some are not *pirrauru* to her, but all are equally *ngaperi-waka* to him; if one of the *pirrauru* is his father, this man is *ngaperi-waka* (little father) just as much as a man who never has relations with his mother. It is therefore absolutely clear that these two terms, *ngaperi* and *ngaperi-waka*, refer to status in the tribe and in the family and not to paternity, for, as anyone can see, the distinction between "father" and "little father" takes no account of paternity.

The Kurnai terms *mungan* and *breppa-mungan* are, so far as we know, used just as the Dieri terms just discussed; and if Dr. Howitt had asserted no more, there would have been nothing to criticise in his remarks. What he actually asserted, however, was that the *breppa-mungan* (= *ngaperi-waka*) of the Kurnai corresponds to the *pirrauru* spouse of the Dieri. In reply to this it is sufficient to say that all *ngaperi-waka* are not *pirrauru*, as they should be if Dr. Howitt's assertion were not entirely misleading.

Dr. Howitt has, in fact, no reply to make to my charge that he is guilty of a grave confusion in his statement of the case. His case depends on the assumption that the *breppa-mungan* of the Kurnai is the *pirrauru* husband of the Dieri, only in the former case the actual rights are obsolete. But the Kurnai have no institution and no terms corresponding to *pirrauru*; their terms actually correspond, as I show below, save only that they are post-matrimonial, to *noa*.

In connection with marital terms, Dr. Howitt makes an important concession (p. 179) in reply to my criticism on one point. He admits that the term used by the Arunta to denote the husband of a boy's mother does

not mean father, for them. Probably he does not perceive the full importance of his admission; for it is fatal to his argument from marital terms of all sorts.

It is improbable that the Arunta term had an origin entirely different from that of all the others enumerated by Dr. Howitt; we may therefore take it that either the Arunta have forgotten that the term means father, or the other tribes have learnt that it means father while the Arunta have still to gain the knowledge. Now the latter case is clearly fatal to Dr. Howitt's contention; in the former case it remains for him to show that the term translated father was not extended by the other tribes to mean persons other than the progenitor, during a period of nescience similar to that which Dr. Howitt now admits for the Arunta.

Either way, therefore, Arunta nescience is a fatal stumbling block to Dr. Howitt.

(4) I now come to the question of the Kurnai terms *maian* and *bra*. Dr. Howitt, for the first time, says that these terms are only post-matrimonial. It is unfortunate that he has not told us so before; at most he has (*N.T.*, p. 169) said that they include husband, wife, brother-in-law, sister-in-law, whereas he translates *noa* by potential husband or wife. This is at best a very dim revelation. But as Dr. Howitt (*F.* xvii. 177) omits the "potential" in speaking of the Dieri, even this means of getting at the facts was denied me. I never denied that the *maian-bra* group included the husband and wife. If Dr. Howitt had told us the real facts I should have modified my sentence (xvii. 297) to read: "They do not imply sexual relations between the parties who apply these terms to each other, save in the case of the individual husband and wife." It is clear that this in no way modifies my point that *maian-bra* does not correspond to *pirraurn*, which *does* imply sexual relations between others besides the individual husband and wife.

It is interesting to learn that *maian-bra* are post-matrimonial; but that they are so in no way invalidates my assertion that the *maian-bra* group corresponds to the *noa* group, not to the *pirrauru* circle. For, as Dr. Howitt admits, the *pirrauru* group does not contain all the tribal brothers or sisters of a given member of it; but the term *maian* is applied to *all* tribal brothers and sisters of the husband, the term *bra* to *all* sisters of the wife. Will Dr. Howitt tell us wherein they differ from the kinship terms which are limited by the *noa* group?

I may add that Dr. Howitt's point that *maian-bra* is post-matrimonial tells against himself with equal force. Or does he seriously assert that *pirrauru* is subsequent to individual marriage and a necessary corollary of it? If not, what is the point of saying that my contention as to *maian-bra* is wrong, because *maian-bra* are, like brother-in-law and sister-in-law among us, terms resulting from and acquired at individual marriage? Not only so, but how can Dr. Howitt assert that *maian-bra* mean husband and wife and that they point to a period of group marriage, when the wife applies the same term *maian* to her husband and to his sister? Does Dr. Howitt maintain that the wife was originally the wife of her husband's *sister*? If not, it is clearly not conclusive of the prior existence of group marriage that other men besides the husband are called *maian*.

(5) On p. 179 Dr. Howitt asserts that the *kandri* ceremony announces the betrothal of a male and female *noa*. On p. 176 he assures us that people who are made *tippa-malku* cannot be again betrothed; yet in dealing with the *kandri* ceremony (p. 179) he asserts the very reverse. It is probably merely another case of loose terminology. However this may be, the betrothal ceremony to which he invites my attention has absolutely no relation to the *kandri* as described in *N.T.S.E.A.*, p. 181. There it is represented that the individual

marriage has nothing to do with the *kandri* ceremony, and Dr. Howitt repeats in his reply to me (p. 167) that the *kandri* ceremony has to do with *pirrauru*. But if the betrothal ceremony of the Kuinmurbura, prior to individual marriage, is a parallel to the *kandri* ceremony, all this is erroneous. I fear Dr. Howitt has not mastered his facts.

(6) Dr. Howitt asserts (p. 184) that I omit to mention the *dilpa-malli* relation. I did not omit it (see p. 301, lines 11-12), though so far there is no evidence that it corresponds exactly to *pirrauru*. All that is asserted by Dr. Howitt (*N.T.*, p. 193) is that a group of men and women cohabit at certain times. But this is not *pirrauru*, which involves a ceremony to initiate it. Moreover, Dr. Howitt seems very uncertain as to the reliability of the information: he says, "according to my informant"—a formula which he does not use in speaking of the Dieri, though his information about them too has now turned out to be erroneous on a point of fundamental importance. Not only so, but Dr. Howitt (*N.T.S.E.A.*, p. 97) includes the Kurnandaburi among the Lake Eyre tribes, *i.e.* the Dieri nation. I may add that before Dr. Howitt argues that *dilpa-malli* is the equivalent of *pirrauru*, he should at least tell us what individuals constitute the group, whether all tribal brothers and sisters (*i.e.* the *noa* group) or only some of them; and in the latter case how they are selected. As to the Yantruwunta, I understand Dr. Howitt to class them too with other tribes of the Dieri nation (*N.T.S.E.A.*, pp. 90-92).

I have, so far, barely alluded to the amazing admission with which Dr. Howitt opens his reply to me. Not once, but several times, it is asserted in his *Native Tribes* that *tippa-malku* precedes *pirrauru*. This now goes by the board, though Dr. Howitt does not allow us to judge of the quality of the evidence on which he relies. As the Dieri are stated to have been decadent for more

than thirty years and to be gathered upon the mission stations, I submit that we have no trustworthy evidence.

In this connection I need hardly point out that the two views cited by Dr. Howitt on p. 166 are in reality not inconsistent at all, unless we know that at the *kandri* ceremony to which the statement refers there were marriageable girls; and this we do not know. Women being scarce—there do not seem to be more than ten of all ages in the tribe to whom a man is *noa*—it is probable that they are all betrothed and married as soon as they are initiated; at any rate it lies with Dr. Howitt to show that his view is right.

In any case it seems clear that the *kandri* ceremony is but rarely performed, for otherwise it would not be necessary for a widower to give presents to his brother in order that the wife of the latter may become his *pirrauru*; in fact, this custom seems to throw doubt on the permanence of *pirrauru* altogether; for why should a man who has a *pirrauru*, as an elderly man presumably has, set out in quest of fresh adventures?

Space fails me to discuss all the points at which Dr. Howitt accuses me of ignorance of the Australian facts or of other misunderstandings. If space permitted it would be easy to show that these charges are all groundless; but I can only take a few cases. On p. 171 Dr. Howitt takes one of my sentences, and construes the term "group-marriage" in his own sense, not in mine, and proceeds to reply on that supposition. Controversy is really impossible if one is not allowed to define one's own terminology; as I have shown, Dr. Howitt's is too defective to permit me to put his terms alongside of my own as a means of avoiding misunderstanding. But I really must claim the right to use my own terms.

Again, on p. 174, Dr. Howitt says I have not mastered the facts of the *noa* relation; his only ground for doing so is because I say that the classificatory system is a

legal system. He himself admits that *noa* means "marriageable"; it is expressive of status, not of actual marital relations (though it includes these); and that is what I mean by the term "legal"; what Dr. Howitt thinks I meant is a mystery to me.

Again, on p. 176, Dr. Howitt says I have not mastered the evidence as to *pirrauru* and *tippa-malku*, because I say that both are entered upon by individuals, etc. All I mean by this is that a man (so far as I can see) gets, or may get, his *pirrauru* spouses one by one, not as a group; I do not assert that he has not more than one *pirrauru*, as Dr. Howitt could easily have seen by several passages (see p. 299, where I speak of *pirrauru* as a combination of polyandry and polygyny, an impossible remark if I did not recognise that there are several *pirraurus* to each individual).

To sum up: (1) Dr. Howitt admits having made an error of fundamental importance in the matter of *pirrauru*; even now we have no clear statement as to how many ways exist of becoming *pirrauru* or of entering into individual marriage; so far as I can make out there are four of each.

(2) Dr. Howitt denies the validity of my assertion that he wrongly put *maian-bra* on a level with *pirrauru*; I show that I am entirely justified in my contention.

(3) Dr. Howitt throws over all that he has said in his book about *kandri*, and brings it into relation with individual marriage, unless his whole point in his present remarks is, as I suspect, entirely erroneous.

(4) He speaks of *pirrauru* as group-marriage, and argues as if the group in question were made up of all the *noa*; he alternately asserts and denies that *noa*-group-marriage existed, and where he asserts it he speaks of it as *pirrauru*. His terminology seems to be hopelessly inadequate.

(5) He will not permit me to select my terms and

define them as I choose; but insists on construing them in the sense in which he himself uses them; and is then surprised that he cannot understand me or that I seem to contradict myself.

(6) He has not produced an individual term for *mother*, though he admits that individual mothers were known. Yet he still argues that individual marriage must have caused an individual term to arise. This is, "Heads I win, tails you lose."

I may remark in conclusion that I did not claim for myself any special power of interpretation, for my criticism of Dr. Howitt was purely negative. But I do claim that I say what I mean and mean what I say, that my terminology is adequate, and that my conclusions are drawn from my premisses.

I trust that Dr. Howitt will soon publish his corrections to *N.T.S.E.A.* At present we really do not know what to accept. It is strange that Dr. Howitt did not discern his mistake as to *pirrauru* earlier, for, had he done so, he would surely have taken the first opportunity of putting things right.

NORTHCOTE W. THOMAS.

COLLECTANEA.

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS OF THE SOUTHERN GALLAS.

FROM MS. NOTES OF THE LATE REV. THOMAS WAKEFIELD, F.R.G.S.

(Read at Meeting, 19th June, 1907.)

THE Southern Gallas do not marry until they are full-grown men, say, about twenty-five years of age, but the girls are considered marriageable at a much earlier age. Betrothal sometimes takes place when the parties are children, but they are not formally married until of mature years. It may be said that the young Galla never woos his bride, for he never ventures even to hint to a young woman that he is looking out for a wife. The bashful Galla maiden would resent such an intimation, and any advances on the part of a lover would be repulsed, the girl running away for very shame.

Negotiations for marriage are conducted by the relatives on both sides. The suitor makes the application to the girl's father, and the father speaks to the mother. Then the uncles are called together, and there is a general consultation. The "uncles" are the father's brothers. The mother's brothers seem to have no position in Galla society. The consultations take a long time, often extending over a year, and sometimes it is two or even three years before a Galla swain obtains permission to claim his bride. The girl herself is not consulted on the subject, nor her wishes taken into consideration. If her relatives decide that she is to be married to the man who is seeking her she must submit, but if they negative the proposal

the matter is quashed, however ardently the young woman may desire the union.

There is one custom which is very peculiar, showing the power of the paternal uncle. If the father and mother of a maiden desire and decide to give their daughter in marriage to a suitor whom they may approve, any one of the brothers of the father may decide against and countermand the marriage. If the young man's previous life has been marked by loose habits and unsatisfactory conduct, the girl's father talks very plainly to him about it all, and the young man acknowledges his sins, professes humility and repentance, and makes the father a present of a cow or a goat, as a practical expression of regret, and is forgiven. When permission of espousal has been granted, there comes a very important question for consideration, namely the price to be paid for the wife. The father, in harmony with African habits of bargain-making, generally asks a great deal more than he expects to get. He names the price, twenty or thirty head of cattle as the case may be, and the young man rejoins, "You must let me have her for less; reduce the demand." When an agreement at last is mutually made, the matter is so far concluded. During the period of negotiation, the lover brings small presents to the maiden's father, sometimes a couple of cakes of tobacco or a little honey, but he never pays a visit empty-handed. After a time, the young man naturally wishes to hasten the final settlement, and says to the father: "Now take your property," offering the cattle as agreed upon for the dowry, "and let me have my wife." Galla etiquette, however, demands more delay, and again and again the naming of the day is deferred, but when at last this is to be fixed, the father calls his friends together to be present at the event. No provision in the way of feasting or refreshment is made by him, except that he brews a quantity of marriage wine made from a kind of wild honey called *Tunali*, and this is freely drunk. The lover brings with him several of his acquaintances, but the maiden is not present. The father makes a speech, in which he states the object of the gathering, saying, "I give my daughter to this man, and he may now fix what day he likes for the wedding."

The young man makes another journey for the purpose of bringing a small present, most probably of tobacco, to the father of his intended bride, and then says, "Next month I shall come on the morning of such and such a day to claim my bride. I give notice, be ready!" Should the man belong to the order of young men known as *Rhaba*, the wedding can only take place at night, but should he belong to the *Arri* or advanced order, the wedding is celebrated during the forenoon. When the day has arrived, the suitor brings the cattle which he has agreed to give as the price of his wife, and is accompanied by his father, mother, and younger sister, as well as a male friend. He leads the cattle to the door of the bride's father, and the friends with him call to him to come out and see his cattle. A young cow is led into the fold belonging to the girl's father, then a young bullock, then another young cow, then a bull. The father comes out, and looking at the cattle says to the young man, "Take from amongst them a present from me." The bull is chosen.

Before leaving home for the wedding, the bridegroom arrays himself in a new upper garment—a kind of toga, made up only the day before. He also provides himself with a new hatchet, and with it cuts a switch with which to drive the cattle. Also he brings the fire-producing sticks—quite new ones which have never been used before for kindling a light—and he puts a pair of new sandals on his feet; everything must be quite new, never before worn or used. The young man enters the dwelling-house of the bride's father, which is quite full of guests; the bride, no longer able to run away or evade her lover's presence, is amongst them; her mother as well as her father is also present. The bride sits in a position towards the north, looking quite overcome, and weeping. The bridegroom sits wherever he can find a vacant spot. Then begins the ceremony of tying knots in the fringe of the bridegroom's toga and in the fringe of the bride's garments. Each one present ties a knot, and these knots are never undone. Previously to the tying of the knots, the bride has been copiously besmeared with butter, and during the wedding ceremony melted butter is lavishly poured over her head and face until she shines

like glass. In the wallet on her back there is a *Sororo*, or native woven vessel, full of milk. Each of the guests present goes over to the bride, the bridegroom included, and tastes the milk, but leaving a residue for her to carry to her new home, when the marriage ceremony is over. At this stage the father of the bride turns to the bridegroom and says, "I have something to say to you. My daughter has never been ill-treated or flogged; don't you behave ill to her. Don't refuse her clothing, give her that which she needs; don't treat her harshly. Chastise her at your discretion." Then he says to his daughter, "If your husband beats you—whether justly or unjustly—submit to it"; after which he addresses the newly-wedded pair, urging them to mutual forbearance and mutual kindness. At this stage, the bride's mother puts two or three red berries, a sweet fruit called by the Gallas *buna*, into the fire. After a little while the berries burst with a loud crack, when she remarks: "The *buna* has spoken, the *jila* (ceremony) is finished." The mystical knot having thus been tied, the wedding party leaves the hut, the bride's father leading the way, the bridegroom immediately behind him, and the bride next, the guests follow; all going into the cattle fold, where milk is drunk by everyone. Then an adjournment is made to the house of the newly-wedded pair, where milk is again imbibed as before. When this is over, the guests retire, and the newly-wedded pair are left alone in their home. As soon as the last visitor has departed, the husband leaves the hut and strikes a light with the new fire-sticks. The moment the friction produces fire, the man calls out: "The child is born! may he remain!" Then he makes a fire, and the first step is taken in Galla house-keeping; for the Galla hut is seldom without its fire or smouldering embers, although under an equatorial sun.

The hut into which the newly-wedded husband leads his wife is built by the bride's mother; it is imperative that it be constructed of new materials and built on the day of the wedding. Galla youths and maidens bear several names, given to them by friends of the family; but after the marriage ceremony the husband selects one out of the numerous names previously owned by his wife, and by that one only is she ever after known

no one daring to address her by any other name than the one chosen by her husband.

When a Galla woman marries, she leaves her own tribe and enters that of her husband. Should she become incapable through illness of remaining with her husband, she is sent, not to her own relatives, but to the brothers of her husband.

There are two tribes which are recognised by the Southern Gallas as the stems of the Galla race: one is called *Arusi* and the other *Baretu*. It is a fixed law of marriage amongst these Gallas that a man must be of one of these two stems, and the woman of the other. A man who is an *Arusi* must marry a woman of the *Baretu* division. Another law is that a man cannot marry in his own family line, however remote. The rule against consanguinity is very strict and absolutely observed, except by the clan *Karara*. The Galla wife seems to be much respected by her husband, and in social position is superior to the women of some of the tribes of East Africa.

Polygamy is allowed, and a man may take as many wives as he likes, or rather, as he can afford to buy. Each wife has a separate dwelling, and the huts are ranged in a line, each door facing the east. The husband has no separate dwelling of his own, but lives in those of his wives. Every evening each wife spreads a cowhide before the door of her hut for her husband to rest upon. This is an invitation daily given by the occupant of each dwelling. When the husband pays his evening visit to the cattle-fold, each wife takes a staff to him, called a *tobo*, which was cut for her by her husband and given to her on the day of the wedding. The wife who reaches the husband first, hands the *tobo* to him and takes his spear from his hand. The other wives return their *tobos* to their huts. On the husband's return from a journey, however short, the wives bring vessels of water and some food to him wherever he may chance to sit down. The wife first married takes precedence of the others. If, after marriage, the wife is treated unkindly, her brother can go and bring her back to her family. He must not, however, enter the hut or even the settlement if the husband forbid it, but must wait until his sister leaves the house for the purpose of drawing water, when he

seizes her and conveys her back to her father's home. A wife thus separated cannot be espoused to another man, neither can the husband claim her back, but a payment of sheep or goats will generally put matters straight.

Separation between man and wife is rare amongst the Gallas, but a husband can inflict punishment upon his wife with impunity, even to death. A Galla cut the end of his wife's nose off for unfaithfulness, but although he thus mutilated her he did not divorce her; she remained his wife.

Unmarried women are not allowed to part their hair; this is a privilege accorded only to married women. Should a woman be divorced from her husband, her hair is again ruffled up and she is not allowed to part it.

The duties devolving on Galla wives are various. They build the huts; mould the pottery; make the *sororos*, or vessels for holding milk; plait strong bags, called *dadu*, of the fibre of the baobab tree. They also weave small bags of the same material, tastefully variegating the wool with different coloured threads. They bring fuel from the bush, water from the river, lake, or pond, and cook and prepare the food. They sew the leather garments they wear, which reach from the shoulders nearly to the ankles, of sheep-skins and goat-skins, but if they wear a garment of coarse cloth called *lemale*, the husband acts as dressmaker, and sews the lengths together and fringes the ends.

On the migrations of the family, the wife takes down the framework of the hut and takes off the skins used for covering it, and packs all together with the household stuff on the backs of the cattle, and while walking beside the baggage carries a small load herself. Occasionally, asses are used as beasts of burden instead of the cattle. On reaching the destination, the wife unpacks, rebuilds and puts the settlement in order on new ground.

Girls are under the control of the mother of the family, and correction is administered to them only by the mother. Husband and wife eat together whenever circumstances render it possible, which is a great advance upon the social customs of many other uncivilised tribes. A Galla widow cannot marry again. The

eldest brother of her late husband claims her by the law of inheritance, and takes her away to his own village and home. She and all her children become his property. He enters into all the rights of the real husband. Before the brother can claim the widow he must make her an offering of tobacco, after which he goes to her hut, taking with him several friends and male relatives. When they reach the house, one of these relatives enters the hut, and, as he steps over the threshold, he stamps several times with his feet, and calls out to the deceased husband, "Thou hast no longer possession of this hut; I come to claim it all." The widow, who is sitting on a hide in the ground, now unties her tobacco, gives a little to each one present, and, after mead or milk has been drunk, the ceremony is over.

It is unusual for Gallas to sell their relations, but under exceptional circumstances a man has sold his brother's widow and sometimes her female children. Galla parents inculcate very emphatically the virtue of chastity upon their daughters, and when a case of shame occurs amongst them it is deeply mourned over as a sad disgrace. Formerly, maidens guilty of a breach of purity were thrown into the Sabaki River and drowned.

E. S. WAKEFIELD.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES ON CAT'S CRADLE AND STRING-TRICKS.

I AM indebted to Dr. Haddon for permission to publish the following Rumanian string-tricks, which he obtained last year from Mr. L. Gaster. The descriptions are from Dr. Haddon's notes.

The generic name (represented in English by the misapplied word "Cat's" cradle) is given as "Etelbetel."

1. Put one end of the loop over the head. Bring the right string across between the teeth. Do the same with the left string. Cross the strings back again. Pass the long front loop over the head and pull the hands apart.

2. Hang the loop over the left thumb and index. With the

right index pull out the string between the left thumb and index to form a long loop. Bring the right hand back above the left hand and close the left thumb and index, inclosing all strings. Insert the closed left thumb and index proximally in the right index loop, drawing the right hand away and the string runs out (Fig. A).

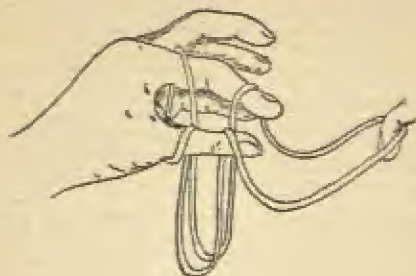


FIG. A.

In the diagram the left thumb and index have been separated again after passing for the last time through the loop. This facilitates the final movement.

3. Put the loop over the left little finger and interlace the strings in and out through the fingers, crossing them between each finger and the next, but always keeping the palmar little finger string proximal. Loop round the thumb and return, keeping the string mentioned distal and its initial movement round the back of the index. Release the thumb, pull the slack of the loop from the ulnar side, and the string runs out.

4. Pass the loop through the buttonhole and hold the ends on the thumbs. Catch the ulnar string of the left thumb with the right little finger, and moving the left little finger clear above the loop so made catch with it the right thumb radial string. Release the thumb of one hand and the little finger of the other. Extend and the string runs out.

The first of these tricks is the same as that which in *Folk-Lore* for September, 1906 (vol. xvii. p. 356) I have called "Cutting off the head." My knowledge of that trick was derived when a young child from a still younger child who had seen it and gave me a partial description, which I supplied by the only

conjecture I was capable of. My description must thus have been subject to grave suspicion, and it is satisfactory to have it confirmed from this unexpected quarter.

When I compared this trick with that obtained by Dr. Cunningham from the Yao of the Shire highlands (No. 2, Cunningham, in *J.A.I.*, vol. xxxvi., Jan.-June, 1906), I had not seen Mr. Dudley Kidd's description of the Basutoland string-trick quoted by Dr. Haddon in the same number of the journal. The latter, as far as I understand it, seems to me to be practically the same as this Rumanian example. It may be noticed that there is a kind of elementary juggling in both which distinguishes them from the Yao trick, in which the effect depends entirely on the properties of a loop of string.

No. 2 is another application of the Watch-Guard hitch. I imagine it to be a simple form of the Hand string-trick of which I gave two descriptions (vol. xvii., pp. 367, 368). The essential movements are identical, but as the Rumanian trick has no move corresponding to that by which both strings are passed round the thumb in the English trick, attention is diverted by closing the thumb and finger, which thus represents the ring fixed to a wall or immovable block. If the ring thus made by the fingers be considered to be a watch handle the whole person represents the watch; and a somewhat ludicrous reversion of the trick may be made with a sufficiently long loop, thus:—Give the right index loop to another person to hold; close the finger and thumb above both strings, and offer to free the fixed end of the loop which lies on the palmar aspect of the thumb and index. This may be done by pulling down the palmar string, stepping through that end of the loop and passing it up over the head. It will then pull clear.

No. 3 is the same as the trick which, following Dr. Weir, I have called the Mouse Alternative. It is the variety credited to Miss Hingston in my article (vol. xvii., pp. 369, 370).

No. 4 is an interesting variety of the Button-hole trick (p. 353). I should guess it to be a more primitive form than the one I have described. The latter is characterised by a sleight-of-hand—a feature which, as far as I recollect, it shares with only two other tricks—the well-known "Threading-the-needle" and

the trick I have called the "Mended Ends." One or two others, perhaps, like the Basuto trick referred to above, evince an inclination towards legerdemain.

It seems proper here to mention that during a tour in the low countries in the fall of 1905, I saw what may have represented a European form of another East African trick published by Dr. Cunningham (*J.A.I.*, vol. xxxvi., Jan.-June, 1906 : Trick No. 18 of the Ubwari, Lake Tanganyika). I was testing the knowledge of Cat's Cradle possessed by some children at Tilburg, South Brabant, and one of them attempted to show me a process which began with extending the string on the wrists, and, after a manoeuvre with the side string, ended by laying hold of the string behind one of the wrists and whipping it clear. As I did not know the trick and the little girl could not do it, we got no further. It is easy, however, to present the Ubwari trick in a simpler form by giving a half-turn to the radial side string and inserting both hands in this fresh loop, keeping the straight string still on that side. The string can then be freed from the back of one or other wrist, but not both. It might be worth looking out for this trick in England or on the Continent. It is of a kind that might be expected to have a wide distribution.

Since my notes on Cat's Cradle appeared in *Folk-Lore* in March, 1906 (vol. xvii., p. 73), I have obtained one or two additional names for some of the figures.

A young lady at Haarlem who played Cat's Cradle just as I learnt it (that is, without the Korean or "Scraggly" figures),¹ called the first position "de Brug," or the bridge, and "Fish-in-the-Dish," "Het Varken op de Lêer," or the pig on the ladder, *i.e.* the pig hung up in the butcher's shop.²

¹ I afterwards got the "Scraggly" figure from a Rotterdam man employed at a hotel at Medemblik in North Holland.

² I have seen the "ladder" in question in butchers' shops at Clifton, *viz.* two parallel rails about eighteen inches apart, united by straight rungs at intervals; but on enquiry I cannot find the name "ladder" applied to it. One butcher at Cambridge whom I interrogated had heard it, but considered it strange and thought the speaker might be a foreigner. Other Cambridge butchers gave the name "rail" to the rectangular system of three or four rods, generally duplicated, which run round the ceiling of the shop, supporting hooks for carcases.

A schoolboy at Portishead, East Somerset, calls Cat's Cradle, "The Hammock." He plays the ordinary sequence as far as the Fish figure, which he declares is the Hammock, the previous figures being steps thereto. He could give no further account of the game nor say how he learnt it, except that an epidemic of it (so to speak) had broken out at the school some time previously. His mother, who came from a distant village also in East Somerset, knew the game, but not by the same name: she thought it was called the Chair, or something like that, but could not speak decidedly.

It seems to me possible that the Fish figure may really be the original objective. When compared by the standard of the Oceanic and American string-games, the figures which precede it seem scarcely to merit more than the name of positions, while the final is a figure in the most exacting sense of the word.

W. INNES POCOCK.

FOLK-MEDICINE, NURSERY-LORE, ETC., FROM THE ÆGEAN ISLANDS.

RABIES in a dog is caused by its eating a green bird brought by the wind.

Storks' eggs are good for ophthalmia.

For a sore, squeeze a live frog and put it on the sore.

For headache, cut open a live hen and put it on the head.

For the consequences of sudden fright, eat the heart of a live pigeon (still beating), with sugar.

"*Agriopetalida*" is pounded up and burnt. The ashes are an emmenagogue, and are also used for varicose veins.

"The Virgin's tears" (gum found in certain trees) protects from the bite of scorpions and of the *samiomitis*, a small lizard which is supposed to bite, but does not as a fact.

Agnus-castus leaves and tamarisk leaves are good for headache.

Water with three leaves of mint in it in the month of May is good for babies ; it "opens their heart," i.e. cheers them up.

A child must not sleep at midday.

A baby's toes must not be kissed.

Babies must not ride on donkeys, or they will have big teeth.

If a child should be born with a caul, the midwife takes the caul and puts it secretly under the altar of a church, and leaves it there for forty days. It is then good against the evil eye and other things.

Bread may be used instead of a cross or an icon to protect children in the absence of the mother.

To make a baby speak soon, put a young chicken's beak into its mouth.

To stop incontinence of urine, eat roast magpie and drink pig's urine.

To make the hair grow, kill a conger on your head and let its blood remain for six days.

To promote the flow of milk, a woman should take the sound of the grey mullet and throw it over her shoulder.

Love-charm. A mother's milk and a daughter's milk together with a piece of menstruous cloth as a potion.

Remedium Amoris. Take earth from twelve successive steps of the girl. Take it to church, dip a piece of cotton in church-oil and put it in the earth. Put it under the patient's pillow, and he forgets all about the girl.

A woman during her periods may not come into an olive-press, or into a garden, or enter a boat.

Women when they have to kill fowls (which are usually killed by the men) put on their husbands' boots. (Kephalos, Cos.)

Women should not step over dough, nor over their husbands' or children's clothes.

No woman should be present when the dough is being kneaded, except of course the woman who is kneading it. Any other woman who chances to come in must spit on the ground to charm away the evil of her presence, and must leave before the cross is put on the loaves. Otherwise she will "carry away the bread with her."

It is dangerous to give away dough at night, as it will cause your animals to die. However, if you put some live coals in water, this protects the animals. (Boudroum.)

Sweepings from a house are not to be thrown out at night, as the occupants' souls may be thrown out with them.

A sieve must not be taken out of a house on a starry night, because this will make holes in it.

Eggs must not be set so that the chickens come out in the same month. If this happens, the chickens are delicate. To strengthen them they must be passed through the ring of the door (*i.e.* the ring used as the handle of a door, and also for padlocking it).

The lizard *syglos* (ἤλιος) can only be killed by a vine-stick.

A water-spirit in the form of a red calf lives in and sometimes comes out of wells.

In the *τρυπὴ* (the week before Lent), the south wind always blows.

To break a water-spout at sea, make a cross with a new black-handled knife and recite the beginning of the Gospel of St. John (see *ante*, vol. xvi. p. 190).

If anyone sneezes in the presence of a corpse, he or she will soon die.

Cut a piece of cloth from the dress of the person who has sneezed in the presence of a corpse, and put it on the corpse. This will hasten its decay. The belief in Cos is that if anyone sneezes the corpse will not decay. Corpses, it must be explained, are disinterred after three years and the bones re-buried. If the corpse is then found not to have decayed, the deceased is regarded as a vampire.

W. R. PATON.

AGRICULTURAL SUPERSTITIONS IN BELLARY.

(Communicated by Dr. J. G. Frazer.)

On the first full moon day in the month of Bhadrapada (September) the agricultural population in the District celebrate a feast called the Jokumara feast, to appease the rain-god. The

Barikas (women), who are a sub-division of the Kabbera caste belonging to the Gawrimakkalu section, go round the town or the village in which they live with a basket on their heads containing margosa leaves, flowers of various kinds, and holy ashes. They beg alms, especially of the cultivating classes (Kapus), and in return for the alms bestowed (usually grain and food) they give some of the margosa leaves, flowers and ashes. The Kapus, or cultivators, take the margosa leaves, flowers and ashes to their fields, prepare *cholan kanji*, mix these with it and sprinkle this *kanji*, or gruel, all round their fields. After this, the Kapu proceeds to the potter's kiln in the village or town and fetches ashes from it and makes a figure of a human being. This figure is placed prominently in some convenient spot in the field and is called Jokumara, or rain-god. It is supposed to have the power of bringing down the rain in proper time. The figure is sometimes small and sometimes big. This superstition is in vogue throughout the district, and to a great extent in Sandur State.

A second kind of Jokumara worship is what is called *muddam*, or the outlining of rude representations of human figures with powdered charcoal. These representations are made in the early morning hours, before the bustle of the day commences, on the ground at cross-roads and along thoroughfares. The Barikas, who draw these figures, are paid a small remuneration in money or in kind. The figure represents Jokumara, who will bring down rain when insulted by people treading on him. Another kind of Jokumara worship also prevails in the district. When rain fails, the Kapu females model a figure of a naked human being of small size. They place this figure in an open mock-palanquin and go from door to door singing indecent songs and collecting alms. They continue this procession for three or four days and then abandon the figure in a field adjacent to the village. The Malas, allied to the Pariahs, then take possession of this abandoned Jokumara, and in turn go singing indecent songs and collecting alms for three or four days and then throw it away in some jungle. This form of Jokumara worship is also believed to bring down plenty of rain.

There is another simple superstition among these Kapu

females. When rains fail, the Kapu females catch hold of a frog and tie it alive to a new winnowing fan made of bamboo. On this fan, leaving the frog visible, they spread a few margosa leaves and go singing from door to door the following song: "*Kappālamma nīrāde. Kadavālu koddi vana iche. Marro vana dēvara*"—which means "Lady frog must have her bath; O rain god, give a little water for her at least." This means that the drought has reached such a stage that there is not even a drop of water for frogs. When the Kapu female sings this song, the woman of the house brings a little water in a vessel, pours it over the frog, which is left on the fan outside the doorsill, and gives some alms. The woman of the house is satisfied that such an action will soon bring down rain in torrents.

In Bellary the rainfall is often most deficient, and the agriculturists have a curious superstition about prophesying the state of the coming season. The village of Mailar, in the extreme south-western corner of the Kadagalli Taluq, contains a Siva temple which is famous throughout the District for an annual festival held there in the month of February. This festival has now dwindled into more or less a cattle-fair. But the fame of the temple continues as regards the *Karanika*, which is a cryptic sentence uttered by the priest containing a prophecy of the prospect of the agricultural season of the ensuing year. The *pujari* of the temple is a Kuruba. The feast in the temple lasts for ten days. On the last day of the feast the god Silva is represented as returning victorious from the battlefield after having slain Malla with a huge bow. He is met half-way from the field of battle by the goddess. The huge wooden bow is brought and placed on end before the god. The Kuruba priest climbs up the bow as it is held up by two assistants and then gets on the shoulders of these men. In this posture he stands rapt in silence for a few minutes looking in several directions. He then begins to quake and quiver from head to foot. This is the sign of the spirit of the Siva god possessing him—the sign of the divine afflatus upon him. A solemn silence holds the assembly, for the time of the *Karanika* has approached. The shivering Kuruba utters a cryptic sentence, such as *Akasakke sidlu bōdiyutlu*, "Thunder struck the sky." This

is at once copied down and interpreted as a prophecy that there will be much rain in the year to come. Thus every year, in the month of February, the *Karanika* of Mailars is uttered and copied and kept by all in the District as a prophecy. This *Karanika* prognostication is also pronounced now at the Mallari Temple, in the Dharwar District ; at Nerakini, in the Alur Taluq, and at Mailar Lingappa, in the Harpanahalli Taluq.

Every village has at its entrance a stone called *Boddurayi*, which means the navel stone. In the month of May, or just before the commencement of the sowing season, a feast is celebrated, known as the worship of the bullocks. The bullocks are worshipped on that day, as is done in the Tamil districts on Pongal day, and towards evening they are taken outside the village with music and tom-tom. The *Boddurayi* is then worshipped and a string with margosa or mango leaves is tied across the entrance of the village gateway (most of the Bellary villages have gates) or to two poles planted on each side of the entrance of the village. The bullocks collected outside the village are now driven inside with music and tom-toms through this string. A party of villagers from the other side of the string try with shouting to keep out the bullocks and prevent them from crossing the string. In the midst of this confusion some bull eventually breaks through the string, and the colour of that bull decides the colour of the grain to be sown and the colour of the soil which will give a good crop that year. If a red bull breaks the string, red cholam is sown extensively ; and red soils are supposed to yield a bumper crop.

At the time of harvest a feast is held called the *Poli* feast. When the grain is harvested in the field, and before the same is removed to the house, the cultivator prepares a sumptuous feast in the field itself on the night before he carts the harvested grain to his house. Every member of the family must partake of this feast in the field. And it is the firm belief of the cultivator that only when this is done will profit accrue to the family by that year's agricultural produce.

Thus it will be seen that the agriculturist's life in Bellary is completely intertwined with superstitions. Their fields have spirits which have to be propitiated and their very villages are

guarded by spirits. Several Boyas enjoy inam lands [?] for propitiating these village goddesses by a certain rite called *Bhuttabali*. This takes place on the last day of the feast of the village goddess, and is intended to secure the prosperity of the village. On the last day of the feast of the village goddess, the Boya priest gets himself shaved at about midnight, sacrifices a sheep or a buffalo, mixes its blood with rice, and distributes the rice thus prepared in small balls throughout the limits of the village. When he starts out on this business the whole village bolts its doors, as it is not considered auspicious to see him then. He returns early in the morning to the temple of the goddess from which he started, bathes, and receives new cloth from the villagers.

W. FRANCIS, *Madras Gazetteers*.

(Quoted in the *Ceylon Observer*, 13th Nov., 1905.)

ANCIENT CUSTOMS AT THE RIDING OF LANGHOLM MARCHES.

(Communicated by Dr. J. G. Frazer.)

"THE annual festival of riding Langholm Marches took place on Saturday in favourable weather. The Cornet was Mr. John Wallace, who was elected at a public meeting, and his cavalcade included fully seventy horsemen—a larger number than usual. Several hundreds of children carried heather besoms, and each child was presented with a threepenny piece. Mr. John Wilson, the Crier of the Fair, having died since last year's festival, Mr. R. Nisbet was entrusted with this position, and he made the usual striking and quaint proclamation standing on horse-back in the Market Place, surrounded by horsemen and by a vast crowd, many of whom came from a considerable distance. The day was observed as a holiday in the district. Provost Thomson, in front of the Town Hall, handed a fine new town's flag to the Cornet. It was presented to the burgh by Mr. J. A. Scott, Erkinholm. The other articles borne aloft in the procession

were a monster thistle, a spade bedecked with heather, a crown composed of roses, and a barley bannock with a herring nailed across it. Those who rode the marches were told that they might tak' their fill of good strong whisky, which would mak' them sing; while those who disturbed were warned that their lugs would be nailed to the Tron with a big nail, and they would be forced on their bare knees to pray seven times for the King, and thrice for the Laird of Ralton, an illegitimate son of Charles II. Various sods were cut, and at the Castle Cragg the Fair was cried, and the company was regaled with barley bannock, salt herring, and whisky. Langholm Town Band and the local Drum and Fife Band took part in the proceedings."

The Glasgow Herald, 29th July, 1907.

ANCIENT BARBAROUS SPORTS.

(SCOTTISH LOWLANDS.)

THE following extract from an old local periodical, *The Cheap Magazine*, "printed and published monthly by G. Miller and Son, Haddington," vol. ii. No. vii., July 1814, is communicated by Mr. Alexander Wood, Thornly, Saltcoats, Ayrshire, a Member of this Society. Cf. *Folk-Lore*, vol. xi. p. 253, and xvii. p. 258 sqq., "The Scapegoat in European Folk-Lore." ED.

"THE CARTER'S RACE.

"To the Editors of the Cheap Magazine.

"GENTLEMEN,

Having had business at — last summer, I was not a little alarmed, when approaching the town, at seeing something like what you have placed as a terror to evil doers, at the beginning of the story of the Beacon in your first number, and which, I believe, is commonly denominated a gallows. Fearful that some unhappy fellow-creature had forfeited his life to the laws of his country, and was about to expiate his crimes under the

hands of the executioner, I did not fail as soon as I entered the town to make the most anxious enquiry into the meaning of what I had seen. You may guess my surprise when told, that on the preceding day had been the Carter's Race, and that what had created so much uneasiness in my mind was nothing but a part of the apparatus necessary for carrying on the amusements of the day, of a part of which I had the following description : From that beam, from which I was afraid some unfortunate criminal was about to be suspended between heaven and earth, as unworthy of either, a living goose was hung up by the feet, and all who could procure horses had an opportunity, as they trotted through between the upright posts, of showing their dexterity, by catching hold of the goose's head, and giving it a pull. This diversion was continued to the no small gratification of the company, till one, more fortunate than his neighbours, had the happiness of pulling the head from the body, and of being hailed for this heroic action with reiterated applauses by the surrounding multitude. The goose being now no longer able to afford any more sport, was taken down, and a cat, inclosed in a barrel, hung up in its room. Every horseman being provided with a mall, struck the end of the barrel as he rode through below it; by the frequent repetition of this, the head of the barrel was at length stove in, when the cat, mad with the cruel usage, darted out, all covered over with soot, to the great amusement of the crowd; and from a principle of self-preservation was dispatched as quickly as possible, by the happy swains who had collected to witness the diversions of the day. . . .

A FRIEND TO YOUTH."

"North Banks of the Tyne,
16th June, 1814."

(SWEDEN.)

THE following note is by a young lady from Malmö, Sweden :—

"In Sweden on Lent Monday they put a cat in a barrel and hang it up horizontally with a rope, and tie a sheet of paper over the open end. (It must not be a wine-cask, but a barrel of rough staves, such as is used for cement, etc.)

Then a handkerchief is put over each person's eyes, so that they shall not see, and they take a stick, and try to smash the whole barrel. They must only try three times each, and when they do it they have some sort of prize.

"On the same day they take a flat cake and put a piece of string to it, and hang it up to the lamp in the middle of the room, and tie the hands behind the back and try to catch the cake with the mouth."

ALICE ENGHOLM.

April, 1906.

[Cf. Lund, *Danmark og Norges Historie; Mere Historie*, Syvende Bog, pp. 168, 177.—N. W. T.]

CORRESPONDENCE.

LE SÉJOUR DES MORTS SUIVANT LA MYTHOLOGIE CELTIQUE.

Le *Folk-lore*, t. xviii, No. 2, p. 121-166, contient un très savant article de Miss Eleanor Hull, intitulé *The Development of the Idea of Hadès in Celtic Literature*. Je n'ai pas l'intention de contester la doctrine de l'érudit auteur, seulement je vois avec regret que ce que j'ai écrit à ce sujet manque de clarté; Miss Eleanor Hull m'attribue des doctrines qui ne sont nullement les miennes et me prend à partie quand je suis exactement du même avis qu'elle. Je n'ai dit nulle part que les Celtes irlandais considérassent le séjour des morts comme une triste île des esprits, *a dismal Isle of Spirits* (p. 128), semblable à l'Hadès des Grecs (p. 130, 134). Au contraire, comme le constate elle-même Miss Eleanor Hull aux p. 140, 141 de son mémoire, j'ai comparé le séjour des morts de la mythologie celtique avec les îles des bienheureux d'Hésiode. De plus j'ai rapproché du passage d'Hésiode, les vers de l'*Odyssée* où apparaît une doctrine analogue, comme ceux de Pindare dans la deuxième des *Olympionicae* où cette doctrine est développée. Elle a pénétré, ai-je dit, chez Platon,¹ et on la trouve, puis-je ajouter, dans le sixième chant de l'*Enéide* :

" Devenere locos laetos et amoena uireta
Fortunatorum nemorum sedesque beatas.
Largior hic campos aether et lumine vestit
Purpureo ; solemque tuum, sua sidera norunt.
Pars in gramineis exercent membra palaestris,
Contendunt ludo et fulva luctantur arena ;
Pars pedibus plaudunt choreas, et carmina dicunt."

¹ *Cycle Mythologique*, p. 19, 20.

Entre la mythologie grecque et la mythologie celtique il y a cependant une différence fondamentale. Suivant la croyance grecque, une partie seulement, un choix des morts, pénètre dans la plaine *Elysion*, dans les Iles des bienheureux. Chez les Celtes tous les morts sans exception arrivent au *Mag Meld*, à la "plaine agréable," je l'ai dit.¹ Sur le genre de vie que l'on menait dans cette plaine, voir les textes réunis dans le *Cycle Mythologique*, p. 35¹ et suivantes.

H. D'ARBOIS DE JUBAINVILLE.

"CUCKOWE KING."

The following entries in the Churchwardens' Accounts of the parish of Mere, Wilts, are not without interest.

The accounts begin in 1556, and the very first entry for that year is:

"Receipts. Inp'mis the sayd Churchewardens do yeld
Accompte of the pfyte of the Church Ale thies yere /
Aboue all chargs xijth vj^d "

When Philip and Mary gave place to Elizabeth, we have:

"Noe new
Church
wardens
chosen,
noe Ale
made,
nor noe
repacons on
the Church
for one yeare."

"As also by occacon of the deathe of o' sayd
sou'aigne lady Queene Marye (who dyed the xvijth day
of Nouembre in the sayd yere of o' lorde 1558 :) And
by occacon of the Alteracon of some pte of Relygyon.
and of the su'yce and Ceremonies of the Churche,
whiche then ensewyd. There were no newe Church-
wardenys Chosen eny time. in thies yere. / Neither
was there eny Ale made." . . .

The "Cuckowe King" appears suddenly in 1565.

"Thomas Sheppard Rem' Cuckowe King this yeare for
that he was Prince the last yeare According to the
Custome. And at this daie John Watts the sonne of
Thomas Wattes is Chosen Prynce for the next yeare."

¹ *Cycle Mythologique*, p. 20, 21.

Then in 1566 comes the only authority for the interpretation of the term "Cuckowe King."

"John Watts the sonne of Thomas Watts is appointed to be Cuckowe King this next yeare according to the old order, because hee was Prince the last yeare. And Thomas Barnerd thunger is elected Prince for this next yeare. And because John Watts hath ben long sick hit is agreed that if hee be not able to srve at the tyme of the Churche ale. That then John Coward the sonne of Robte Coward shall srve and be king in his place for this yeare."

This Church-ale seems to have been held at Easter. The season may account for the "Cuckoo" title of the leader of the revels (or head-barmen?); or it may allude to the ephemeral nature of his office; or to the custom of the "prince" elected heir-apparent turning the sovereign out of his "little brief authority" the next year.

C. F. H. JOHNSTON.

The subjoined extracts from the *English Dialect Dictionary* seem to bear on the subject:—

"*Cuckoo-ale*, the ale drunk by colliers, etc., on first hearing the cuckoo's note. *Shrop. Folk-Lore* (1879), ii. 84. *Bound Province*, 1876. 'The time is devoted to mirth and jollity over what is called cuckoo-ale.'

"*Cuckoo Foot-ale*. Burne, *Folk-Lore* (1883), 221. 'The colliers have a way of their own of celebrating the cuckoo's coming. They say the cuckoo must pay his foot-ale, so they club their money together and send for a 'fetching' of ale, and spend the day on the 'pit-bank' drinking instead of working.' *Shrop. Word-book*. *Salopia Antiqua*. 'The custom is invariably celebrated out of doors, and a fine levied on the person who proposes to deviate from the usual practice and drink within.'

"*Cuckoo Feast*. A feast held on the nearest Sunday to April 28th."

Murray's *Century Dictionary* has :—

"*Cuckoo-ale*. A provision of ale or strong beer formerly drunk in the spring of the year. The signal for broaching it seems to have been the first cry of the cuckoo."

The Vicarage, Headington Quarry, Oxford.

THE WILD HUNTSMAN.

While in Oxfordshire last year I met with a localization of the Wild Huntsman story which may, perhaps, be unknown to your readers. At the village of Noke, a place of some twenty-six houses about five miles from Oxford and one mile from Islip, there lived in the reign of Elizabeth one Benedict Winchcombe. He purchased the Manor, and lived in the Manor House (now destroyed), dying there in 1623. He was buried in a chapel attached to the church, wherein "a fair altar of black marble," bearing his effigy, was erected; and, leaving no issue, he devised the manor to his nephew, Benedict Hall, son of his only sister Mary. Both monument and chapel are now demolished, though the inscriptions from the former are let into the chancel wall. The story is current in the village, that "old Winchcombe," as they call him, was very fond of hunting, and, as in many other versions of the tale, was not content with six days in the week for his favourite pastime, but devoted Sunday also to the chase; and that after his death he might be heard at night with his hounds, careering over the neighbouring country, until he was finally "laid by twelve parsons." I did not ascertain the date of this last event, but it is significant that the village is on the edge of Otmoor, formerly the haunt of innumerable wild-fowl, which of course we know are in many places termed "Gabriel hounds," in their nocturnal flight, from the resemblance of their cry to that of a pack of hounds, and the moor having been (within the last century) drained, they are of course no longer heard.

W. HENRY JEWITT.

REVIEWS.

SAVAGE CHILDHOOD: a Study of Kafir Children. By DUDLEY KIDD. London: A. and C. Black. 1906.

THE interesting and well-informed author of *The Essential Kafir* returns to the charge with a book that broaches a subject hitherto almost untouched. At first one wonders why so fascinating a theme as savage babyhood viewed from the inside has not attracted the attention of a host of observers, more especially as the first-hand anthropologist is not infrequently a woman. To the reflection, however, that ensues upon reading such a book as this it is apparent that no ordinary observation will prevail against the shyness and suspicion of the little primitives, let alone those of their parents. Mr. Kidd's work is the fruit of long experience wedded to quite uncommon tact and insight, and in almost all respects may serve as a model to the numerous following it is likely to call into existence.

Perhaps the most forcible impression left by the book as a whole is that, whatever may seem to be the case with the man, the child at any rate is the child all the world over. A false or, what is much the same thing, a one-sided because purely individual psychology leads many to suppose that in the adult savage they have the natural man, a being likewise supposed to lurk somewhere in themselves. But the savage, of course, is the most sophisticated and conventionalised of mortals—more so, perhaps, than the picked representatives of civilisation. But the child taken in the raw and before he is caught and cooked, so to speak, in the hot-pot of society's

'medicine' is natural, and, as such, the subject of an individual psychology, in a way that you and I decidedly are not. It is most refreshing to observe, for instance, that just as Why-Why ate the oysters, so the small and unabashed *Kafir* will tuck into the small bird he snares on the veld though he ought to take it to his grandfather, and will in fact grow up into a wizard—an abandoned wretch—if he violates the taboo (p. 193). He does not "see the logic of the rule," as Mr. Kidd says. And so another infant sceptic could not see the use of puzzling about why the trees grew bigger. "The trees," he remarked to Mr. Kidd, "will grow as well without my troubling about the way they grow" (p. 152). Meanwhile his elders were practising all the devices of productive magic without a doubt but that they were powerfully fostering the crops. Nevertheless society, mostly by its appeal to the imitative powers, begins to set its stamp soon enough on the boys and girls, as their games and sports make plain. For instance, when they are playing down by the river at chief and followers, "the little chief is given a small white shield, and in the tremendous fights which follow, no one would dare to hit the boy with the white shield even in play; it is thought a very bad thing to hit a chief, and therefore it is very bad to imitate such an action" (p. 175).

Indeed, about the only fault there is to find with Mr. Kidd's work is that perhaps he does not sufficiently distinguish between the effects of the social and the individual factors in child-life. A certain fallacy seems to run through his most ambitious chapter, the one entitled "The Dawn of Self-Consciousness." It reads a little as if the savage child "rounds to a separate mind" more slowly than the civilised because of an intrinsic slowness and feebleness of mental development. His is the "leisurely Arctic dawn" and ours the "hurried tropical sunrise"—despite the fact that he reaches puberty sooner. However, if Mr. Kidd somewhat fails to appreciate in explicit theory the importance of the influence of social environment, at all events his careful observations afford the necessary correction. The child may confuse self with his clothing and possessions, crying when they are beaten. But

his father, it turns out, would not care to wear a dead man's blanket if it has been worn but once. Or the child may confuse self with his shadow. But as a matter of fact it is found necessary by the elders to teach the heedless children to respect the shadows of their betters. In short, there may be little self-consciousness in a certain sense of the term in savage adult or savage child, but it is hardly the sense of the term proper to those individual psychologies to which Mr. Kidd is fond of referring us.

Besides its supreme importance as a contribution to psychology, individual and social, the book is a storehouse of valuable material in the way of folk-lore of all kinds. Mr. Kidd has the gift of complete observation. Thus on p. 23 he gives, apparently without penetrating into the meaning of the custom, a case of the lunar sympathy recently explained by Dr. Frazer (*Adonis Attis Osiris*, 305 ff.), with just the detail required for its identification. Very rarely do we notice a lack of precise statement, as where, for instance, killing a man of conspicuous character in order to form *intelezi* wherewith to wash the chief's babies is spoken of as if a universal Kafir practice (p. 19). Mr. Kidd does not often seek to round off his observations with a theory, yet occasionally he does it with marked success. Thus his appendix (H. cf. p. 24 and p. 289), on the danger of looking backwards, cleverly suggests that the underlying idea is that as long as the man sees the holy and dangerous object, by one to which a sickness has been transferred, the object cannot see, and so 'overlook' him. Even more interesting is his study of the difference of meaning between *idhlozi* and *itongo* (App. A. cf. pp. 12-15, 21-26, etc.). These terms and the corresponding ideas are generally confused; but Mr. Kidd gives good reason to think that they refer to two quite distinct kinds of spirit. The former is a man's individual spirit, that after death haunts the grave and in time evaporates. The latter is an ancestral spirit, or, better, the ancestral *mana* or luck, since it is not so much the spirit of particular ancestors as something strictly corporate. In custom and ritual the *itongo* is for obvious reasons the more important of the two. It lives in the family hut and receives offerings. It is not

born with the child but is imparted by a ceremony. It departs from the man who breaks tribal custom, e.g. becomes a Christian. It causes men to dream. It sends sickness. It hates twins. It is in many men at once, travels with the tribe, can be passed on to an heir like a blessing, indeed, we seem to have here the key to the inmost shrine of Kafir religion.

Perhaps these crumbs will be enough to attract hungry anthropologists to the lavish feast.

R. R. MARETT.

RELIGION IN EVOLUTION. By F. B. JEVONS, Litt.D. London: Methuen & Co. 1906.

THIS is a work of apologetics. It consists of four lectures delivered in the Vacation Term for Biblical Study at Cambridge. The argument, however, necessitates an enquiry whether religion has been evolved out of, or preceded by, a non-religious or pre-religious stage in the history of man. Seeing that such a stage has been supposed to have been discovered among the Australian natives, Dr. Jevons discusses the evidence of Dr. Howitt, Mrs. Langloh Parker, and Messrs. Spencer and Gillen, on the point. Rightly holding that evolution does not proceed equally in all departments of intellectual and social life, and therefore that religious development may be slower or more rapid than social, or may even decay as social and intellectual life develops, he arrives at the conclusion that a pre-religious stage in the history of man cannot yet be said to have been satisfactorily proved. In the strict sense of the word *proved*, possibly he may be right. But if the term Evolution and all that it implies be a correct generalization of the forces which have operated from the beginning of the world to produce its present condition, including, of course, that of mankind, the presumption of a pre-religious stage in the history of man remains unshaken by his examination of the Australian evidence and the less valuable West African evidence of Dr. Nassau and M. Allégret which he prays in aid. Moreover, I very much doubt whether his interpretation

of the Australian evidence is accurate. We must not judge savage beliefs entirely by the standard of our own mental operations. Our categorical affirmations and denials and clear-cut definitions are foreign to traditional creeds. In my judgement the Arunta are neither primitive atheists on their way to monotheism, nor monotheists whose faith has waned. Something much more nebulous than either atheism or monotheism, or indeed any kind of theism, lies behind their present condition. For this Dr. Jevons has not made allowance: he has not even considered the possibility of it. How, if correct, it will affect his argument is not for me to say.

The rest of the volume, like all that he writes, is well worth reading. It is lucid; it is skilful; but—

“How can he give his neighbour the *real* ground,
His own conviction?”

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

THE RELIGIOUS SONGS OF CONNACHT. By DOUGLAS HYDE.
London: T. Fisher Unwin. Dublin: W. H. Gill & Son.
10s.

FROM the folk-lore point of view the interest of Dr. Hyde's *Religious Songs of Connacht* lies in the large number of charms and poems enshrining old superstitions which it contains. As Dr. Hyde says in his preface, “poems, prayers, petitions, charms, stories, blessings, curses, and everything else of the kind,” are here set down and published in the same mixed manner in which they came into the collector's hand. The book is thus a curious record of those back-waters of civilisation where superstition longest keeps its hold, and where the borderline that stands between paganism and Christianity is grown so fine that it is difficult to tell whether many of these ‘ranns’ belong more strictly to the one sphere or to the other. Occasionally the collector makes an effort to discriminate between the two traditions, as where he traces the origin of two curses called respectively the “Reversed Journey” and

the "Curse of the Anvil." In the former, which is Christian, the aggrieved person makes a round of the Stations of the Cross in a contrary direction, invoking the devil all the time to send bad luck upon his enemy; while, to turn the anvil upon your enemy, a mode of invoking ill-luck which Dr. Hyde thinks comes down from pagan days, is carried out by putting the horn of the anvil facing backwards and requesting the devil to do his worst upon the person accursed, "so that a melting and every kind of misfortune may come on him." In most cases, however, there is no possible means of distinguishing ideas that have been handed on, with merely a change of names, from one system of belief to the other. One of the most striking examples of a pagan purpose being carried over into Christian customs was the use made of hymns in the early Church of Ireland as charms against danger or disease. Hardly one of the numerous hymns ascribed to the saints of the Celtic Church was composed for Church purposes or as an anthem of praise to God; they have a much more personal or business-like purpose. To ward off dangers or demons, to preserve a traveller on a journey, to cure sickness or to keep back the plague from passing to them across the 'ninth wave,' these were the practical purposes for which in ancient times hymns were composed and repeated. The best known instance is that of the 'Lorica' of St. Patrick, composed on his approach to Tara to ward off the "spells of women, smiths and Druids" during his contest with the King of Ireland. These hymns usually fall into the regular charm-form, invoking the "virtue of God, the might of God, the wisdom of God," the eye and ear and hand of God, against snares of demons, seductions of vice, and all other ills. In the same way one of St. Columba's best known hymns was a "Path Protection," which kept every one safe who repeated it on setting forth on a journey. Dr. Hyde gives many instances of hymns used in this way to the present day. There are religious charms for a sore eye, charms to staunch blood, for the toothache, for milking the cow, and many other purposes. Some of them come down direct in both wording and spirit from the days when St. Patrick's

hymn was composed. Here is one that closely approaches to the form of the Loricæ of Patrick :

"Between us and the Fairy Hosts,
Between us and the Hosts of the Wind,
Between us and the drowning water,
Between us and heavy temptation,
Between us and the shame of the world,
Between us and the death of captivity."

These charms should be compared with the very similar 'ranns' collected by Dr. Alexander Carmichael, on the Western Coasts of Scotland, and published by him in *Carmina Gadelica*.

Brigit (or Breed, as the name is pronounced in Gaelic), plays, next to the Virgin Mary, the largest part in the household charms. She is represented as occupying the middle of the house near the hearth, while Mary is aloft on the top; there is little doubt that her name, which Dr. Hyde interprets as meaning "fiery-arrow" (*brébsaigít*), and her position as presiding genius of the hearth, pass back beyond the Saint, whose "Virgin's fire" at her monastery of Kildare was never allowed to go out, to the pagan goddess of wisdom from whom many of her virtues and attributes are actually derived. Her wide-spreading mantle which, according to a legend preserved in an ancient church hymn, she once hung out to dry upon a sunbeam after herding sheep in the rain, plays a part in some of these charms. We may note that the English version of the "White Paternoster," which has so very un-English a sound :

"Four corners to my bed,
Four angels round my head, etc.,"

occurs also in Ireland (vol. ii., pp. 49 and 217).

Though parts of these volumes are unpleasant, and stories are preserved that might perhaps just as well have been forgotten, they are, taking them altogether, a most singular record of a people whose credulity, or shall we say whose piety, seems to be in a stage hardly removed from that of the lowest superstition of the middle ages. A trace of shrewd humour and common-sense and an occasional touch of fine

native insight relieve the sordidness of the collection, but there is little in the book that can rank with the exquisite love-poetry which Dr. Hyde has collected from this very district and nothing at all which can be named in the same breath with the delicately beautiful poetry of nature which comes down from an earlier time.

ELEANOR HULL

FOLK-LORE OF WOMEN, as Illustrated by Legendary and Traditional Tales, Folk-rhymes, Proverbial Sayings, Superstitions, etc. By T. F. THISELTON-DYER, M.A.

It is clear that the author of this work, who has published many books of the same kind, must command a public. But it is not to the advantage of folk-lore, as this Society understands it, that this should be so. He does not concern himself with any of the questions which, in our belief, deserve scientific inquiry, and though he has read widely his method is very different from that which we have consistently advocated. His object is merely to collect from a variety of sources, among which he ventures to name the publications of this Society, a number of miscellaneous proverbs and beliefs which he supposes will amuse the public for whom he caters. These he roughly classifies under headings, such as "Woman's Eyes," "Woman's Tongue," "Red-haired Girls," "Woman's Curiosity," "Young and Old Maids," and so on. His method of supplying references is one of the curiosities of the book. For instance, on page 2, he gives chapter and verse for a passage in *Don Juan*, and on page 47 a reference to Lady E. C. Gurdon's *Suffolk Folk-lore*, while elsewhere half a dozen pages at a time, swarming with assertions which a reader would wish to verify, are left without a footnote. Nor does he refer to the standard literature of the subject. He begins Chapter XX., which deals with "Woman's Curiosity," with a mention of Peeping Tom of Coventry, which is hardly apposite, and he goes on to talk of Forbidden Chambers and the like, as if Mr. Sidney Hartland had never dealt with such things.

The need of references is emphasised by the inaccuracy of some of the quotations which we can test. "Frailty, thy name is woman," is, we are told (p. 13), "a German proverb."

"A bustling (*sic*) woman and crowing hen
Are neither fit for gods nor men,"

is given as a parallel to "Une poule qui chante le coq, et une fille qui jiffle (*sic*), portent malheur dans la maison."

One of the most remarkable statements is "Eastern proverbs are highly complimentary to women" (p. 2), whereas the book is largely made up of the old silly jibes at the sex which abound in Oriental literature. Surely the time has passed when crusted, stupid sneers directed against women as a whole are either interesting or instructive.

There is much to be done in the way of popularising folk-lore, and the author might, if he would adopt sounder methods, assist in this good work. But we doubt if a public which patronises books of this class is likely to be attracted to a serious study of the subject. Mr. Thistleton-Dyer has collected many interesting facts, but the value of his book, as a treatise on this branch of folk-lore, is lost through over-haste in compilation, faulty arrangement, and a neglect of the principle that a book may be accurate and readable at the same time.

W. CROOKE.

ORIGIN OF THE ANGLO-SAXON RACE. By the late T. W. SHORE.
London: Elliot Stock, 1906.

ANCIENT LAW. By SIR HENRY SUMNER MAINE, with Introduction and Notes by SIR FREDERICK POLLOCK, Bart.
London: John Murray, 1906.

THE TRIBAL SYSTEM IN WALES. By FREDERIC SEEBOHM.
London: Longmans, 1904.

THE late Mr. Shore's *Origin of the Anglo-Saxon Race* represents the laborious collection of evidence in support of a theory which is succinctly stated in the final chapter of the book. "All the

available evidence, the dialects of the period, the surviving customs, or those known to have existed, and the comparison of place-names with those of ancient Germany and Scandinavia, point to the same conclusion, that the English race had its origin in many parent sources, and arose on English soil, not from some great national immigration, but from the commingling here of settlers from many tribes" (page 393). It was Mr. Shore's purpose in the present book to find traces of these tribes on English soil, and there can be no question of the industry with which he prosecuted the search, nor of the wealth of illustration which he brought to bear upon it: a fact which makes it only the more to be regretted that the result of such great labour should be of such small value to the historical student.

For Mr. Shore's attempt was hopeless from the outset, quite apart from any criticisms which may be passed upon his treatment of the materials which he collected. The local nomenclature of England, to name the source from which Mr. Shore's conclusions are in the main derived, has never yet as a whole received such scientific treatment as would make it available for purposes of historical generalisation. It is only in regard to five or six counties that the early forms of the local place-names have systematically been collected: elsewhere in England the student is at the mercy of the idiosyncrasies of the scribes of Domesday Book, from which he may only in rare instances appeal to Kemble's inadequate index to the *Codex Diplomaticus*. Under such circumstances no certainty of interpretation is possible, but it must be added that Mr. Shore is no safe guide even in those parts of this vast subject which have been explored by previous scholars.

In regard to a work of this kind, depending for its effect upon the accumulation of numberless isolated facts, no detailed criticism can be attempted here, but attention may be called to a few points upon which Mr. Shore's conclusions are peculiarly unacceptable. Such are his interpretation of the *-hope* terminal in place-names on the Welsh border (page 375); the extraordinary extension given on page 339 to the Dore-Whitwell-Humber boundary of Mercia, and the impossible derivation of the place-

name Oxford which occurs on page 269. The statement (page 301) that "the *-by* place-names in the Danish districts of England must be regarded by their parallelism to the *bys* of ancient Gothland to have been folk-villages" is plausible, but ignores the fact that in many of these names the *-by* suffix is compounded with a personal name in the possessive case. It is difficult to see what such names as Brocklesby, Barnetby, and Grimsby can have meant if they did not mean that the places in question were originally owned by Brocwulf, Beortnoth, and Grim. The process which transformed such estates into the unmanorialised vills revealed by Domesday Book is one of the obscurest problems of Anglo-Saxon history, but Mr. Shore took no account of the difficulty. In connection with this subject we may note that Mr. Shore follows Kemble's arbitrary explanation of the *-ing* suffix in place-names; an explanation which of course is very convenient for an author whose work, like the present book, is based on the assumption of the tribal structure of Anglo-Saxon society.

It is an ungrateful task to give adverse criticism to a book which, whatever its defects, expresses the result of personal research in a region where such research is urgently needed. It is only through the labours of many individual scholars that some vague outline of the early social condition of the English people will at last begin to appear. But Mr. Shore's method was far too unscientific, the ground which he attempted to cover was far too wide, for his work to have any appreciable share in advancing this result. When English place-names have been traced to their origin and classified, when what is archaic in local custom has been distinguished from what is only a development of feudal law, when anthropological statistics have been multiplied and interpreted, some more fortunate scholar may undertake with a prospect of success the work attempted by Mr. Shore.

Students of Maine's *Ancient Law* have long felt the need of an edition of this book in which its conclusions are reviewed in the light of recent research in the wide field covered by its brilliant author. Such an edition is now supplied by Sir Frederick Pollock, Maine's successor in the chair of Jurisprudence at

Oxford. While wisely making no changes in Maine's text, Sir Frederick Pollock, in a note appended to each chapter, gives a concise criticism of its contents, enforced by frequent and learned reference to the modern literature dealing with the subject. Treatment of this kind is perhaps the severest test to which a book can be subjected, and the result of it in the present case is a notable witness to the permanent value of Maine's classical work.

The second edition of Mr. Seebohm's *Tribal System in Wales* consists of a reissue of the book without material alteration. Since the appearance of the first edition Mr. Seebohm has published the results of his researches into primitive English society in his *Tribal Custom in Anglo-Saxon Law*, which thus forms to some extent a companion volume to the present work, and in a long and interesting Introductory Note we are given some account of the questions in regard to which Welsh custom is illustrated by reference to Germanic evidence. There is no need to enlarge here upon the value of Mr. Seebohm's work. He has for the first time given a scientific statement of the evidence contained in the Welsh codes and has established the reality of the social conditions which they imply by reference to the extents and similar records of local provenance which have come down to us from the Edwardian period. For many years yet scholars may continue to dispute the extent to which Anglo-Saxon society has been affected by previous Celtic custom, but whatever conclusion ultimately finds acceptance will be profoundly indebted to Mr. Seebohm's reconstruction of the main features of Welsh tribal society.

F. M. STENTON.

SHORT NOTICES.

Sociological Papers. Volume II. Macmillan, 1906. 8vo.
pp. xiv, 308.

THE second volume of the Sociological Society's publications, though not less interesting than its predecessor, makes less

appeal to folk-lorists. In fact, the only paper which specially concerns us is Dr. Westernmarck's *The Influence of Magic on Social Relationships*. He shows how deeply the relations between parents and children, rich and poor, hosts and guests, may be influenced by the belief in the efficacy of blessings and curses, and in the Evil Eye, incidentally illustrating his thesis by his own experiences in Morocco. He follows Dr. Frazer in finding the distinctive mark of magic in the compelling power of the magician, as opposed to the supplicatory attitude of the religious votary, but it does not seem to strike him that the essence of the magical influence of the Evil Eye, for example, lies in its inherent *mana*, or natural uncanny power, not in the will of its possessor. In fact, we meet with cases where the power of the Evil Eye is supposed to be exercised involuntarily, and to be beyond the possessor's control. Neither does he seem to us to lay sufficient stress on the idea that the wandering stranger may be a deity in disguise, as a motive for his hospitable treatment. Altogether the subject of the paper seems rather to be the influence of superstitious belief (as for want of a better name we must call it) on social relationships, than of magic. But we need hardly say that it is an original and weighty article, based on the evidence of facts. In so short a space compression was unavoidable, but some day we hope Dr. Westernmarck will work out the subject more fully. The custom of Sanctuary, for example, on which he touches, is almost unbroken ground.

The Imperial Gazetteer of India, New Edition: *The Indian Empire*, Vol. I. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1907. 8vo. pp. xxxii, 568. 6s.

Thus, the third edition of the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, will run to twenty-six volumes, including a companion atlas, in place of the previous fourteen. The whole work has been revised, and practically re-written, so as to incorporate the latest attainable information; only the historical account of the British Empire in India, by the late Sir W. W. Hunter, has been left as far as possible untouched. The single volume on *The Indian Empire* has been expanded into four: "Descriptive," "His-

torical," "Economic," and "Administrative," the first of which now lies before us. It contains sections on the Physical Aspects, the Geology, Meteorology, Botany, Zoology, Ethnology and Caste, Languages, Religions, Population, and Vital Statistics of the vast peninsula, each section by an acknowledged master of the subject. Only two of them come within the purview of *Folklore*: that on Religions, a clear and excellent summary, both historical and descriptive, by our staunch supporter Mr. Crooke; and that on Ethnology, abridged from the chapter on "Tribe, Caste, and Race," by Mr. H. H. Risley, in the *Report on the Census of India, 1901*. The author, after enumerating the main features of the principal races, physical types, tribes, and castes, discusses the theories of the Origin of Caste put forth by Sir Denzil Ibbetson, Mr. Nesfield, and Monsieur Senart respectively; and while categorically asserting that "the origin of caste is from the nature of the case an insoluble problem," himself advances the hypothesis that it is to be found in the pride of birth which induced conquering races to hold themselves jealously aloof from the conquered. Necessity yet compelled the incomers to take wives from the lower races, thereby producing endless cross-divisions, and a reactionary intensified pride of exclusiveness, bolstered up by fictitious traditions, led to a redoubled aloofness in later generations. This "conjecture," says the author, "is based—firstly, upon the correspondence that can be traced between certain caste-gradations and the variations of the physical type; secondly, on the development of mixed races from stocks of a different colour; and thirdly, on the influence of fiction."

Folklore and Superstitious Beliefs of Lebanon County [Pennsylvania]. By E. GRUMBINE, M.D. Reprint from *Transactions of the Lebanon County Historical Society*, Vol. III. No. 9, pp. 254-294.

THIS interesting little pamphlet gives an account of the customs and beliefs of a population of German descent in the State of Pennsylvania, and so deals with the lore of an immigrant folk settled under an alien government and in the midst of a people

of alien blood and speech. Once more we find that "coslum non animam mutant qui trans mare current." These Germans who have never known Germany still eat sausages at Christmas, hunt for hares' eggs at Easter, and count Wednesday the unlucky day of the week, as did their forebears in the Vaterland across the ocean. Their whole folklore, in fact, seems singularly little affected by practices imported from England.

The Mayers and their Song, or Some Account of the First of May and its Observance in Hertfordshire. By W. B. GERISH. 8vo. 16 pp. To be had from the Author, Bishop's Stortford, Herts. 1s.

THE observance of May Day in Hertfordshire, as elsewhere, seems now to be chiefly kept up by parties of smartly-dressed little girls carrying "garlands" and sometimes dolls; but within living memory it was customary for young men to go round affixing "May-bushes" to the house-doors before the dawn of May morning, and later in the day to sing and dance in costume in the streets. Mr. Gerish, whose name we are sorry to see among those of members retiring from the Society, has been at the pains to collect and record no less than nine variants of their song, one of which is well known owing to its insertion in Hone's *Every Day Book* in 1826. Though every village has its own version, yet the song on the whole shows a well-marked local type. It is interesting as suggesting a well-meant seventeenth-century attempt to give an edifying and religious character to the May-day festival abhorred of the Puritans. It is a combination of a few verses appropriate to the occasion with others expressing decidedly sombre religious reflections, which appear independently and even more inappositely in the Christmas carol "The Moon Shines Bright" (see Sandys' *Christmas Carols*). The whole concludes with the usual request for beer. One verse Mr. Gerish is able to trace to an edition of the Geneva Bible printed in 1608, to which a cento of texts arranged as verse is prefixed. The song should be compared with the Cornish May songs, and with Mr. Percy Manning's collection from Oxfordshire.

Journal of the Folk-Song Society, Vol. III., Part I. London :
84 Carlisle Mansions, Victoria Street. 4to, pp. vi, 58.

RECENT numbers of the Folk-Song Society's *Journal* show progress, not only in collecting, but in method. Comparing them with earlier issues we note a marked increase of critical skill in the Notes. Far more attention is paid to the subject-matter of the verses and to tracing sources and parallels than was the case at first, and wider knowledge of authorities is shown. Expurgation still seems to be carried rather far (though of course it is impossible to judge of the character of the omitted verses); some of the contributors are inclined to be discursive, and the differing opinions of the musical critics who hold a symposium on each air in turn are sometimes amusing; nevertheless, as at present conducted, the *Journal* is really valuable to the folk-loreist, not to the musician alone. We are especially pleased with the subject-index to Vols. I. and II. which is appended to the present Part, and which well repays study. Many will be unprepared to hear that some fifteen or twenty standard "old ballads," including such notable ones as "Gil Morice," "Lamkin," "Lord Randal, my Son," "Binnorie," and others, are still sung by the peasantry of England to airs hitherto unrecorded. Then we have new examples of ancient well-known love-songs: "I sowed the seeds of love," "There is an ale-house in yonder town," "I will give you the keys of my heart," and others in the same style. Christmas carols, consisting either of versified mediæval legends or of moral (seventeenth-century?) verses of the most lugubrious description; other festival songs (we would direct Mr. Gerish's attention to the May Songs in vols. i. p. 180, and ii. p. 182, and Mr. Ordish's to the Pace-Egging Songs, vol. ii. p. 231), agricultural songs, musical toasts, sailors' chanties, a cattle-call, a "bird-starver's" cry; and more remarkable than these, two or three specimens of the *cante-fable*, in which a short song is sung by one of the characters in a prose story, in the fashion still in vogue, as Mr. Walter Jekyll tells us, among the Jamaican negroes. For the most part, however, the songs are narrative "ditties," intended to be sung as solos. Three or four are humorous stories of revenge or outwitting, but they treat chiefly of the exceedingly tempestuous

course of true love, of cruel parents, faithless swains, and early deaths. They relate histories of highwaymen, pirates, press-gangs, voyages, shipwrecks, murders, and executions; they celebrate feats of poaching, cock-fighting, horse-racing, and fox-hunting. On the whole, they smack strongly of the eighteenth century. Several of them refer to the Napoleonic Wars; one, to the American War of Independence; another, to the death of General Wolfe. The battles are related in a dolorous style, suited perhaps to the "broken soldier, kindly bade to stay." The soldier sometimes occurs as a lover, usually a bold one; the sailor, however, is the favourite hero of the love-stories, which turn generally on his constancy or the reverse. The apprentice is another leading personage, generally represented as lovesick, ill-used, and unfortunate. The farmer, the plough-boy, and the labouring man bulk largely among the *dramatis personæ*; the shepherd rarely occurs, but his calling is celebrated in "Tarry Woo" (ii. 215), a real "trade song" heard at sheep-shearing in Westmoreland and North Yorkshire. We do not find, in England, any songs in praise of some special locality, as we do in Ireland. The English folk-poet seems always to require a human interest. But there is usually a background of Nature in the more sentimental songs; the sunrise, the green meadows, the singing birds, the springing flowers, or else the stormy winds and "silvery tide," form the setting of the story.

From our point of view, perhaps the most interesting "find" is the carol, current in Herefordshire and elsewhere, founded on a story in the Apocryphal Gospel of St. Matthew, in which Christ curses the willow because His mother has chastised Him with it. Our member, Mrs. Leather, finds the belief widely prevalent in Herefordshire that a child or animal beaten with a willow-rod will cease to grow. This is said of *broom* in Shropshire, but there also a carter has been known to object to drive a horse with a "withy-stick" (*mountain-ash* is the proper wood for the purpose); and the willow is reputed to be (in the words of the ballad-curse) "the very first tree To perish at the heart."

Miss Broadwood, commenting on *plant-burdens* of ballads, "Parsley, sage, rosemary, and thyme," etc. (vol. iii. p. 14), makes the ingenious suggestion that they are survivals of incantations or

charms against evil. The idea is plausible, but needs to be substantiated by fuller and more precise evidence than she has as yet brought forward.

Into the musical value of the Folk-Song Society's collections we cannot here enter, but we may echo the admiration of the lamented Norwegian composer, Edvard Grieg, for "the earnestness and energy with which it carries out its objects," and the hope he expressed shortly before his death that these folk-melodies may in time "form the basis of an independent national style of music" in England.

Journal of the Gypsy-Lore Society. New Series, Vol. I., Part I.
July, 1907. 8vo. pp. 96.

THE Gypsy-Lore Society, after having been in abeyance for fifteen years, has taken a new lease of life, and established itself in new headquarters at 6 Hope Place, Liverpool. The pages of its *Journal* are chiefly occupied by papers on the history and language of the wandering tribe, and by a posthumous article on the Tinker folk by the late Charles Godfrey Leland. Of folklore there are a couple of brief folk-tales from Slavonia, the story of the Owl and the Baker's Daughter from a Welsh gipsy, and a couple of riddles, the inquiring contributor of which may be referred to the *Folk-Song Journal*, vol. ii. p. 297. We observe with interest a proposal to undertake an "anthropological" (qu. anthropometrical or ethnographical?) survey of the Gypsies.

EDITOR.

Books for Review should be addressed to

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c/o DAVID NUTT,

57-59 LONG ACRE, LONDON.

Folk-Lore.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY.

VOL. XVIII.]

DECEMBER, 1907.

[No IV.]

MAY 15th, 1907.

MR. A. NUTT (VICE-PRESIDENT) IN THE CHAIR.

THE Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The election of Mr. James Brown, Mr. H. C. Gouldsbury, Mr. G. Cadbury, junior, and Mrs. Seligman as members of the Society was announced.

The resignation of Dr. S. Miall, and the withdrawal of the subscription of Messrs. Eggers & Co., of St. Petersburg, were also announced.

Mr. Crooke read a paper on "Homeric Folk-Lore" [to appear in vol. xix.], and in the discussion which followed, Mr. G. Calderon, Mr. Kirby, and the Chairman took part.

A paper entitled "The Corpse-Door: A Danish Survival" [p. 365], by the Rev. H. F. Feilberg, was also read.

The Meeting terminated with a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Crooke for his paper.

The Secretary reported the gift of the following books to the Society's Library since the April meeting, viz.:

Handbook of American Indians, North of Mexico (Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 30, Part I.), presented by the Bureau.

Anthropometric Data from Bombay, and *Anthropometric Data from Burma*, both presented by the Government of Bengal.

JUNE 19th, 1907.

THE PRESIDENT (DR. GASTER) IN THE CHAIR.

THE Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The election of the Rev. J. W. Macgregor and Mr. O. Seshagiri Rao as members of the Society was announced.

Mr. A. Lang read a paper entitled "'Death's Deeds,' a Bi-located Story" [p. 376], on which the Chairman offered some observations.

A hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. Lang for his paper.

Mr. A. R. Wright exhibited and explained the use of the following objects used by secret societies and others in West Africa, viz.:

From Mendiland. Porro Society.—Mask of *Kriffi ka porro*, or porro devil; tablet for laying porro taboo. *Bundu Society.*—Mask of *Normeh* or Bundu devil; *sēhgura* musical gourd. *Yassi Society*—*Minserah* figure. *Other objects.*—*Banyehn* fetish charm; iron bar currency; wooden model gun; fetish stick; mourning circlet; chief's elephant pad armlets and whip; steatite devil; cowrie girdle; palm rib basket and broom; necklet of imitation leopard's teeth.

From Imperri country, etc.—Human Leopard Society.
Murderer's knife.

From Timini country.—Bai Bureh's *befimah* fetish, hat, fetish cap, and belt; three fetish staves; snuff horn; two fetish figures; son's war dress; attendant's war horn and wooden sword; and great war horn and drum.

From Old Calabar.—Ordeal bean.

The Chairman and Mr. Lang having offered some observations on the objects, a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. Wright for exhibiting them.

A paper entitled "Marriage Customs of the Southern Gallas, East Africa," compiled from the notes of the late Rev. T. Wakefield, F.R.G.S., by his widow, was read by the Secretary [see *ante*, p. 319].

THE CORPSE-DOOR: A DANISH SURVIVAL.

BY DR. H. F. FEILBERG.

(Read at Meeting, 19th June, 1907.)

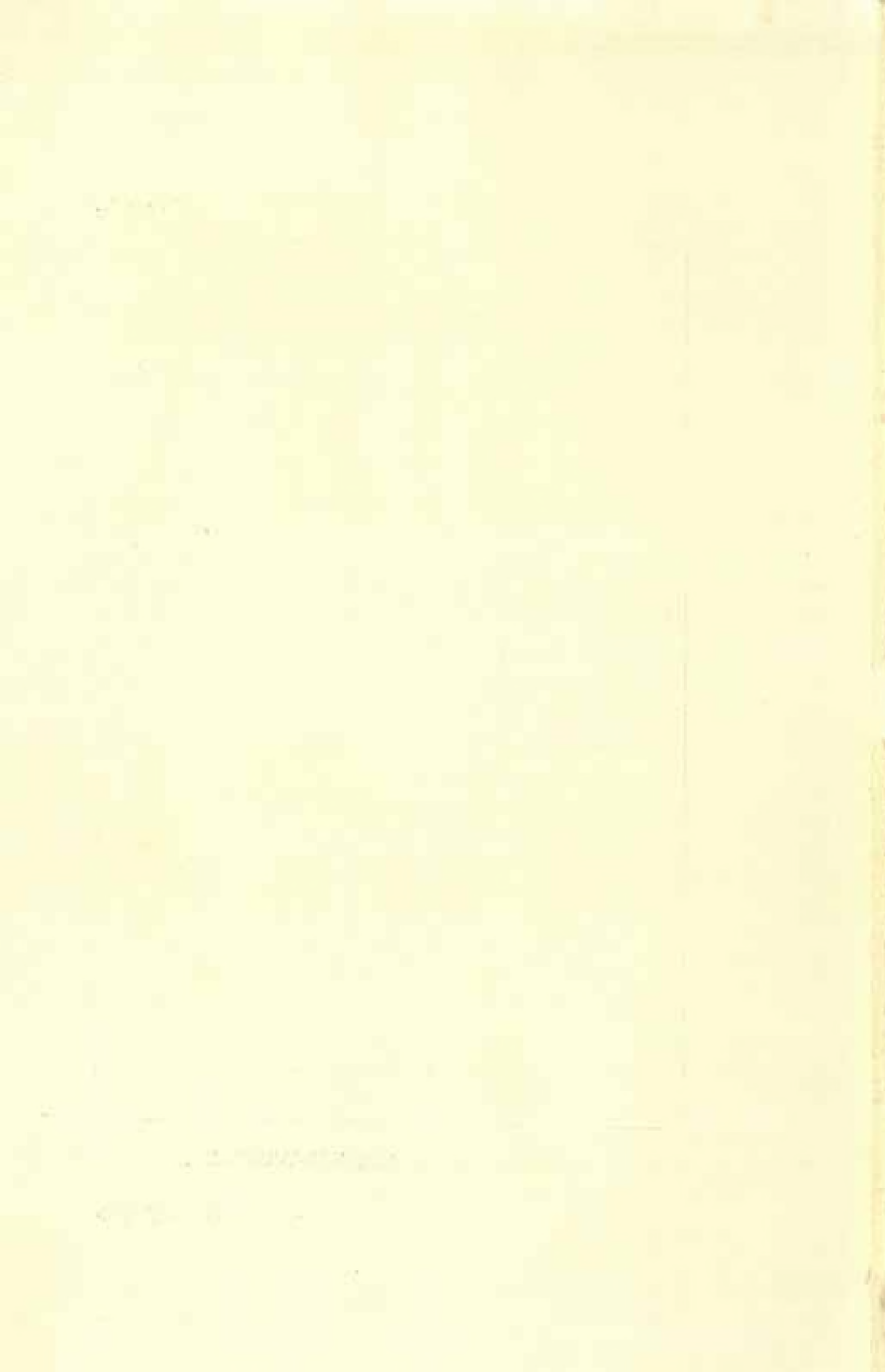
ALMOST a span of life has elapsed since I moved away from one of the far-stretching moorland parishes and returned to the west coast of Jutland, and to the people amongst whom I had passed my childhood.

The village was large and closely built, with old-fashioned low straw-thatched houses built of hard dark bricks cemented with clay, that appeared to creep close together, so as to offer as little resistance as possible to the storm, when it comes sweeping with all its might from over the North Sea.

One day, when the light happened to fall sharply on the gable-end of a house, I distinctly saw the outline on the wall of what looked like a bricked-up oven-door; and as it evidently was the outer wall of the best or company room, I wondered how that could be. So I went inside, and after greeting the people asked them if they had an oven in their best room. Oh no! they said, it was not a baking oven, it was a "corpse-door." There were very few such left now, but in olden days it had been the custom that the coffin, which was always placed in the upper room, was carried out through this opening, which was bricked up again as soon as the procession had started for church, so that on their return



CORPSE-DOOR, DARUM, WESTJUTLAND.



they could again assemble in the room and partake of the funeral meal. As the doors in these old-fashioned houses are low and narrow, this seemed to be a practical way of getting over a difficulty.

I remembered then the many occasions on which I had been present at funerals in the big end room of the farmhouses. In the middle of the room stood the open coffin, with the corpse inside; along the walls were tables groaning with good cheer and surrounded by guests. When all had arrived, and all had had enough to eat, the candles were lighted, a hymn sung, the last word spoken. Then came the leave-taking; the widow patted her dead husband's cheek, the mother lifted up the little children and let them stroke the dead man's forehead, whilst the tears fell fast; then came the other relations in due order; last of all the coffin lid was nailed on, each hammer stroke seeming to go into one's very heart.¹ Then the coffin was borne out—for many years I never saw any wreaths, they belong to the present time—placed on the hearse, and carried at a foot-pace down the high road, never through side roads, to the church, and hidden away in the grave.

If we look closely into the funeral customs at home, we shall find two different currents of thought, one which belongs, so to speak, to a superficial stratum of church life, where all the Christian ceremonies, with the burial service and the tolling of the church bell are rigorously observed. This is the most noticeable, and many will never have seen anything else. Underneath this lies another, what I am inclined to call an antique layer of practices, of which one sees very little, and of which the meaning has been forgotten, but which in old-fashioned

¹ In later years they screwed down the lid, and I have sometimes seen butterfly ornaments on the screws. In that way can antique motives come down to us as a matter of fashion, without being understood.

homes was very carefully followed ; a pair of open scissors laid on the dead person's chest, small pieces of straw laid crosswise under the shroud. The great toes were tied together so that the legs could not be separated. Needles were run into the soles of the feet, and when the coffin was carried out, the bearers, just within the threshold of the door, raised and lowered it three times in different directions so as to form a cross. When the coffin had left the house, all chairs or stools on which it had rested were upset, all jars and saucepans turned upside down, and, when the parson on the churchyard prays for the rest of the dead, "reads into his hat," he is supposed to bind the dead to the grave with magic words, to keep him fast. I don't mean to say that all these ceremonies were observed at every death ; amongst others was the custom to strew flax-seed round the house, but in some places one of these customs was observed, in others another, and so by degrees the whole group might be discovered.

What then is the meaning of all this? For a meaning there must have been ; it is not likely that funeral customs which have spread all over Scandinavia, including Iceland, should originally have been without any meaning. Moreover, the original meaning has been lost, and the whole has become a rite which is no longer understood, but of which they say : "We have always done so."

In this case it is not so very difficult to find an explanation, when we take into consideration the way in which uncultivated people think and reason. So far as my knowledge goes, one will find, amongst all members of the human race, from the most uncultured up to the highest form of civilisation, this belief pre-eminent, that man does not die with death. The soul lives ; bodily death is only the commencement of a new chapter in the history of life. For a longer or shorter period a

mystical union continues to subsist between body and soul, the grave is the new dwelling, amidst our forefathers. And, doubtless, as a rule, when one lays the dead in the grave, one pictures to oneself that night is daytime for the dead; they move about and pursue their occupations whilst the living are asleep, they form a society of their own which, like all societies in former days, regards every stranger as an enemy. For the living, there is great danger in intruding into the society of the dead, and, on the other hand, the living do not want the intrusion of the dead, and endeavour to protect themselves by means of exorcisms. If each part would keep to themselves the matter would be easy enough, but it lies in the nature of the dead that they are always trying to get back to the places where they have passed their lives. Maybe something is forgotten, or some wrong committed which must be put right, or there may be some private affairs with the living which have not been concluded, and then "they walk," return to the well-known places amongst the people they have known; and that, the living do not like.

The dead man then dwells in the grave. The living wish him to keep quietly at home. But why should he? Let the parson read over him and "fasten him" if he will, but, unless some man who knows how to exorcise, has ordered him to remain under the mould, or a solid oak stave has been run through his body, he will find some means of slipping out. That is why in the churchyards you find holes in the ground near one of the ends of the grave, it is through them that the dead slip out at nightfall. Narrow paths may be seen between the graves of friends, those are trodden by the dead in the darkness of the night. Round about in foreign countries one can find with bricked-up graves that a hole has been cut in the upper stone so as to allow

the dead to get in and out. This does not suit our Danish line of thought.

It is one thing to allow the dead to associate with each other in the churchyard, which at night-time is always shunned by the living, or, if they like, to assemble in the empty church, light the candles on the altar, and have a service or mass—let them do so; but to make disturbance in the old house and to annoy the living, that is quite a different matter, so one protects oneself by every means in one's power; and on closer examination it will appear that many of these customs which have been mentioned here, have the same object, viz. to prevent the dead from walking and haunting the old home. The scissors, in the form of a cross, have double power, partly as a cross, and partly as being of iron or steel; there is also power in the sticks of straw laid across. When the legs are tied together the dead cannot walk; the same thing when needles are run into the soles of the feet, it will cause pain to tread on them—also the fact that they are of steel has something to say in the matter. The cross formed by raising and lowering the coffin within the threshold, closes the doorway. According to the popular belief there is always a mystic connection between the person and all that he has come in contact with, so that by means of these one can cause him pain or pleasure, more especially the first. Therefore, all that has been in contact with the dead must at once be taken out of the house—the water used in washing the corpse, the straw that has been in his bed. Chairs and stools are upset so that he may find nothing to sit upon. For fear that the soul should remain behind, and hide in an empty jar, the vessels are all turned upside down.

Strewing flax-seed has evidently had another meaning, as it is supposed that all the powers of darkness, witches, ghosts, and hobgoblins were forced to count

each single seed before they could enter. It is most likely the same idea when a broom flung across a door prevents a witch from coming in. Another variation of the same idea is to hang up an old worn-out cart-wheel. If flax-seed is strewn, the ghost before it can enter must find and count every seed; if it is a cart-wheel, it must run through all the ruts that wheel has been through, and in that way the night passes, and at cockcrow the dead must return to their graves.

From whence this idea of counting and reckoning has its origin I cannot explain, but one meets with it in many places. To this may be added another which Mephistopheles mentions in his interview with Faust: "*Wo wir hinein, da müssen wir hinaus!*"—a saying which is here used t'other way about, that where the dead goes out, he must return the same way, or else remain outside.

Why the dead cannot take "a short cut" I do not know, but it is evident that they cannot, and traces of this belief can be found in numerous burial customs. The dead are always carried out feet-foremost; were they carried head-foremost they would see their home and the door, and find the way back. In Sweden it is said that all the gates along the road through which a corpse has been carried to the churchyard are hung upside down, so that they open the opposite way. And if a ghost has begun to haunt a house, it is generally sufficient to alter the position of the door, then he has to remain outside. It is impossible for him to find his way in again.

Whilst on the subject I will mention a custom of earlier times when burying suicides; the dead person was not carried through the churchyard gate, but lifted over the outer mound, dragged down on the opposite side, and placed to the north of the church. In times still further back a rope was attached to the body, it

was then dragged by wild horses and buried wherever the rope happened to break, or else the corpse was thrown amongst carrion in the gallows ditch, whereby one also interfered with the suicide after death. For no poor human soul can find rest unless the funeral rites have been properly observed, and to these belong more especially, according to the popular belief, the having prayers read over him, and being buried in consecrated ground. When manners became milder, the suicide was allowed to rest in the churchyard, but was to be buried either before sunrise or after sunset. I myself have been present on such occasions. The grave, to distinguish it from those of the honest dead, might be dug from north to south instead of from east to west. That is an insult, and has been done towards other dead (besides suicides) to tease them. The intended insult has always been felt by the person in question, and been revenged by malicious haunting. When one compares all the many other examples which point in the same direction, I have no doubt that when the suicide's coffin is carried in over the mound, it is to prevent his ghost finding its way out of the churchyard, as it will be stopped by the hedge.

To continue. I have been witness that a window was thrown open the moment a person was dead. This is still a common custom in the country; in some places they take a sod or a tile off the roof; on both occasions it is to give the soul free exit, and when the openings are again closed, the soul having once come outside won't be able to find its way back.

Hitherto I have kept to home customs, let us now try a comparison. In the *Eyrbyggja Saga* it is told of Thorolf, that in the morning he was found dead sitting in the seat of honour. Then his wife sent messengers to Arnkel to let him know that his father was dead. Arnkel rode up to Hvam with some of his followers,

and, when he arrived at Hvam, he heard for certain that his father was dead, and sat in the seat of honour. But all the people were frightened, for his death seemed so uncanny. Arnkel then entered the room, walking along behind the benches towards Thorolf and warning all present not to approach from the front until the usual rites had been performed. Then Arnkel seized Thorolf by the shoulders, and had to exert all his strength before he got him down from the seat, whereupon he wrapped a cloth round the dead man's head, and then laid out the body according to custom. After which he *caused a hole to be broken out in the wall behind, through which the corpse was carried out*, placed on a sledge drawn by oxen, and carried off to Thorsadal. Although it is not especially mentioned, one may be very certain that the hole in the wall was closed again.

Then comes a Danish saga from the present time about Hr. Ole, a parson, who was versed in magic arts, and who could at one and the same time be seen standing in the pulpit in Avnslev church and also fishing in the pond by the parsonage. Well, he died, the parsonage got burnt down, and with it his magic books. The corpse was carried into a neighbour's house, and there he suddenly sat up and exclaimed, "Ho, ho!" which was his favourite expression. When Hr. Ole was to be buried *a hole was broken in the wall, and he was carried out that way.*

Let us now continue with a judicial custom from the Middle Ages. With regard to a heretic it was ordered at Regensburg, in the thirteenth century, that he must not be buried in consecrated ground. No baptised person's hand may touch his corpse. You shall take a rope, fasten it by a hook to his foot, and then drag him out of the door. *If the threshold is too high, a hole must be dug under the doorstep and he be dragged out that way,*

but so that no baptised person's hand touches him. The rope shall then be fastened to the tail of a horse, and he be dragged to the gallows-ditch. (The above refers, though, more especially to suicides.) In a legal paragraph from Goslar it is said: "He who takes his own life must not be carried out through the door, but *shall be dug out under the threshold or taken out through the window*, and burnt in the field." Another case from Rygen (?) can be compared with this: "If a person hangs himself within doors, he shall be dug out *either under the door or through the wall*; judgment shall be passed upon him, then a horse shall drag him in a rope to the nearest cross road where three roads meet. His head shall be laid where Christian people have their feet. The rope with which he has hanged himself shall remain round his neck so that the end of it can be three feet above ground," and so on.

A number of other examples could be given; sometimes the hangman is to drag him out under the doorstep, at other times a hole is to be made in the wall; and as no one will have such a dangerous person near their dwelling or on their field, the dead body can be put into a barrel and thrown into the river, from whence it would be carried out into the ocean, where it can do no more harm.

To come nearer home. To the north of Skaane lies a tract called the Värend. In this former borderland lived a hardy and warlike people, the Virdars. A document from thence mentions that in 1611 the judicial court of Sunnerbo passed sentence on an old peasant who, suffering from cancer, had in his distress and despair hung himself, to the effect that as the deceased had deprived himself of life and there was no hope for him, he was to be *dug out under the threshold of the house* and carried to the gallows-ditch. Thereto was added this explanation; that when a corpse was carried

through a hole dug from under the foundation of the house, it was evidently done to protect the inmates from being haunted by the ghost of a suicide.

In Schwabien the body of a suicide was to be conveyed out *under the doorstep or through a hole in the wall*, with this explanation, that it was to prevent the dead from haunting the house.

In Greenland the dead are carried out *through the window* of the mud huts, or if it is in the summer time, *through the back of the tent*. The German traveller, Kohl, who has passed a long time amongst the North American Indians, tells of their great horror of all that reminds of death and burial. The Ojibway bury their dead quickly, *they do not carry the corpse out of the door, but cut a hole in the wall of the house*. As a rule the house is pulled down and another one built up; they are even so particular as not to light a new fire with a spark from the old one.

The same things are told of the people in Russia. One remarkable example from the Middle Ages may be mentioned. It refers evidently to an ordeal. The suspected person was to swallow a mouthful of consecrated bread. If he could not do so, he was to be *dragged out alive under the doorstep* and then put to death.

We then find the custom of not carrying the dead through the usual entrance to a house in the ancient Icelandic sagas, in comparatively modern Danish life, in judicial documents of the Middle Ages, in Swabia, in Greenland, among the North American Indians, the Slavonic races in Russia, and, I may add, among the Ostiaks, Siamese, Chinese, Hottentots, and Caribbees. Here and there the custom is observed with a full understanding of the reason, whilst in other places it is only a survival from ancient times. With the rise of civilization there has been a tendency to confine the

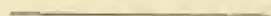
dread of the returning ghost to suicides and evil-doers, but originally it applied to the whole of the departed without exception.

It belongs to human nature to be lazy. We like to do things the easiest way, and to attain our aim with as little trouble as possible. In Mecklenburg they have arranged a loose doorstep, which can be lifted up for the coffin to pass under and then let down again, so that the ghost cannot possibly get in under it. In old-fashioned houses they have had a window frame made so as to be easily taken out and put in again, I have seen a coffin conveyed out through such a window, and as in the olden times people were not in the habit of opening windows, there was not much likelihood of its being opened again before the next death, so one was pretty safe not to get a visit from the dead through that way. Now, I think that the intention of a "corpse-door" is clearly explained. It is a simple, easy, and inexpensive means of getting the dead out of the house. The doors may be low, the passage narrow, that does not matter. In the "big room," where all the more important events are celebrated, a few bricks cemented with clay can easily be removed, and then there is room enough for the coffin to pass through. The opening is only there for a couple of hours, and closed up again before the procession returns from church. The dead is shut out effectually from his old home; the living need feel no terror at midnight when the howling of the dogs proclaims that the dead are afoot, for the departed one can only come back by the way he went out. When the opening through which he left his home is closed up, it is not in his power to return.

As far as I know, there is but one house left having such a corpse-door, and that is old and ruinous. When it is gone the only relic of the custom will be a drawing

by Mejborg in his book, *Old Danish Homes*,¹ and it may not be so long before all this, like so much else, gets shut up in the lumber-room of literature and forgotten.

H. F. FEILBERG.



¹R. Mejborg, *Gamle Danske Hjem*, (Kobenhavn, 1888), p. 120; from which the illustration, Plate V, is copied. A sketch of the gable-end of the house in question appears in my work, *Dansk Bondeliv*, (1889), a copy of which I some years ago presented to the Folklore Library.

"DEATH'S DEEDS": A BI-LOCATED STORY.

BY A. LANG, M.A., LL.D., ETC.

(*Read at Meeting, 19th June, 1907.*)

WE all know that stories never die. A good thing told about a wit of any remote date is attached, in all following generations, to a series of later humorists. The famous Beresford ghost story (the basis of Scott's ballad, "The Eve of St. John"), is not only found in a chronicle of the twelfth century, and in a sequence of tales ever since, but is actually current to-day with a living lady for the heroine! Finally, the inventions of pre-historic antiquity, which are the stock-in-trade of Household Tales, peasant *Märchen*, and early epics, are localised in various places. The incidents of an European ballad are said to have occurred, for example, at the meeting-place of Ettrick and Yarrow, or beside the troutful Douglas burn.

This fact, the tendency to revive and renovate old stories by giving them a contemporary date and a familiar locality, is now perfectly well understood. But I have found a puzzling case of "story bi-location," and would be glad to know how we are to explain it. Did the self-same strange thing happen twice, or more frequently, on either side of the Atlantic, within some twenty years, or is the European narrative a deliberate plagiarism from West Indian facts?

Though the dead are the sufferers in this affair (and

also the actors, according to popular opinion), the sturdy Rationalist need not be nervous: I am not telling a ghost-story; a thing excommunicated (if there be evidence for it) by scientific folklorists. I must confess that a little historical research has been needed, and historical precision is sadly alien to anthropological methods.

On May 8, 1859, in Paris, Mademoiselle de Guldenstubbé and her brother, the Baron de Guldenstubbé, told to Mr. Robert Dale Owen (late American Minister at Naples) their version of the bi-located story. He published it in 1860, in the American edition of his *Footfalls on the Boundary of Another World* (English edition, 1861, pp. 186-191). The two Guldenstubbés were son and daughter of a Baron of that name, who, they said, in 1844 was president of a Committee which in that year investigated strange occurrences in the Lutheran cemetery of Ahrensburg, Isle of Oesel, in the Baltic. The evidence was thus given fifteen years later than the events. I must add that the younger Baron, the narrator, declared that he saw a very strange phantasm of the dead, at Paris, in his rooms, 23 Rue St. Lazare, in March, 1854. The events at Ahrensburg, of 1844, were therefore within his own recollection, if, in 1854, he was old enough to have an establishment of his own. He also published (or was it his father?), in 1857, a book on automatic writing, which was attributed to the agency of "spirits." A distinguished member of the Society for Psychical Research informs me that the author of this book was "a thorough-going spiritualist of the most credulous and superstitious type." Mr. Dale Owen, however, regarded the younger Baron as honest, and nobody says that he was a deliberate liar with circumstance.

His story was that, in June, 1844, a chapel, that of the Buxhoewden family, in the cemetery of Ahrensburg, became noisy; that the noise (*Getöse*) frightened horses

into fits, and that, when the chapel was opened (July, 1844) for the burial of a corpse, the coffins were found displaced, and "lying in a confused pile." They were replaced, and the chapel was locked. The elder Guldenstubbé, father of the narrator, with two of the Buxhoewden family, secretly visited the chapel, again found the coffins all in a heap, had them put in order, locked the chapel, and consented to an investigation. A Committee of the Consistory, including the Baron, the Bishop, the Burgo-meister, an atheistic doctor (M. Luce), a Syndic, and a secretary, with two clergymen, were the Committee. They reopened the chapel; all the coffins but three were "in a painfully dissolute state." No robbery of jewels buried in the coffins had occurred. The pavement of the vault was taken up; it had not been disturbed. The place was put in order once more, and the doors were locked and sealed with the official seal of the Consistory. Wood ashes were strewn everywhere, to detect footsteps, and a military guard was posted for three days and nights. The Committee then returned, and found all in order: seals undisturbed, ashes untrodden, but the coffins were standing on their heads. The lid of one was open, and a hand, *that of a suicide*, protruded.

An official report was drawn up, which "is to be found among the archives of the Consistory, and may be examined by any travellers, respectably recommended, on application to the secretary of the Consistory." The troubles continued, till the dead were taken out and buried in earth.¹ Dale Owen (1860) adds that the next generation will perhaps regard this tale as "an idle legend of the incredible."

In 1899 Dr. Alfred Russell Wallace had a controversy with Mr. Frank Podmore about *Poltergeister*, or unexplained disturbances, and gave the Ahrensburg story as

¹ *Footfalls*, pp. 186-193.

a good sample. Mr. Podmore naturally answered that the evidence is at third-hand, and that nobody professed to have seen the official document. On October 21-November 4, 1906, Mr. Solovovo wrote to Mr. Podmore from St. Petersburg, saying that he had applied to the Lutheran Consistory at Riga, on Feb. 4-16, 1899, and, on Feb. 19-March 4, received a reply. In the archives of the Consistory of Oelsen (and in those of the church in Ahrensburg, as Mr. Solovovo found) were no documents about the disturbances of the coffins. The Ober-pastor of the church (that of St. Laurentius) added that the present Baron Buxhoewden, owner of the chapel, some years ago, had "failed to find anything either at Ahrensburg or at Riga."¹

Are we to conclude that Mr. Dale Owen's Baron de Guldenstubbé invented (or rather plagiarised) the whole story, so rich as it is in detail? I could not take it on me to say *that*; for the document, if it existed, was one which persons of education and common sense might think it desirable to destroy, while the Buxhoewden family, on reflection, might regard it as an unpleasant record. I know how often a gap occurs in State Papers and other public records, just at the moment when we are aware that a royal murder plot, or any other shady transaction, was being arranged. The newspapers, if any, of Oelsen for 1844, ought to be consulted. It is certain that old people in the island remember the affair.

I now turn to the other and earlier version of the story. The scene is a family vault, that of the family of Chase, at the church named Christchurch, in Barbadoes.

The dates of disturbances *precisely* parallel to those at Ahrensburg, are from August 9, 1812, to April, 1820. The earliest printed record known to me is of 1833, in Sir J. E. Alexander's *Transatlantic Sketches*, vol. i., p. 161 (London, 1833).

¹ *Journal S.P.R.*, February, 1907, pp. 30-32.

Sir James writes: "It is not generally known that in Barbadoes there is a mysterious vault, in which no one now dares to deposit the dead. It is in a churchyard near the seaside. In 1807 the first coffin that was deposited in it was that of a Mrs. Goddard; in 1808 a Miss A. M. Chase was placed in it; and in 1812 Miss D. Chase. In the end of 1812 the vault was opened for the body of the Honourable T. Chase; but the three first coffins were found in a confused state, having been apparently tossed from their places. Again was the vault opened to receive the body of an infant, and the four coffins, all of lead, and very heavy, were much disturbed. In 1816 a Mr. Brewster's body was placed in the vault, and again great disorder was apparent in the coffins. In 1819 a Mr. Clarke was placed in the vault, and, as before, the coffins were in confusion.

"Each time that the vault was opened the coffins were replaced in their proper situations, that is, three on the ground side by side, and the others laid on them. The vault was then regularly closed; the door (and a massive stone which required six or seven men to move) was cemented by masons; and though the floor was of sand, there were no marks of footsteps or water.

"The last time the vault was opened was in 1819. Lord Combermere was then present, and the coffins were found thrown confusedly about the vault, some with the heads down and others up. What could have occasioned this phenomenon? In no other vault in the island has this ever occurred. Was it an earthquake which occasioned it, or the effects of an inundation in the vault?" (The last opening was really in 1820).

In Schomburgk's *History of Barbadoes*, published in 1844, there is a similar version. I have in my hands a manuscript, undated, but old, signed "J. Anderson, Rector," written on the back of a coloured sketch of the

coffins. Schomburgk says that such a sketch was made in 1820 (April 18), when the vault was opened by Lord Combermere, Governor of the island, and the coffins were found in wild disarray. My sketches of the coffins, in order and disorder, with Mr. "Anderson's" written account, belong to my brother-in-law, Mr. Forster Alleyne, of Porters, Barbadoes, whose father, the late Mr. Charles Thomas Alleyne, was in the island in April, 1820, when Lord Combermere opened the vault. I am not certain that Mr. Charles Alleyne spoke of the affair to his son; but Mr. Forster Alleyne tells me that he heard of it from an eye-witness named in Mr. Anderson's document, Sir Robert Bowcher Clarke. The evidence is thus better than that of Baron de Guldenstubbé, but as Christchurch was destroyed in the hurricane of 1831, I am not certain that its registers survive.

It is a curious fact that Mr. Alleyne's copy of Mr. "Anderson's" record varies from a synoptic version signed not "J. Anderson, Rector," but "Thomas Harrison Order-son, D.D., Parish of Christ Church, Barbadoes." This synoptic copy was printed by a Mr. Robert Reece, junior, who got it from Mr. Orderson (named elsewhere by him "Harrison"), and is published in a pamphlet pleasingly styled *Death's Deeds* (Skeet, London, 1860). A MS. note in the copy before me attributes the tract to "Mrs. D. H. Cussons." As to Mr. Orderson, Mr. Alleyne (May 20, 1907) informs me that he has examined the old record of funerals at Christ Church, Barbadoes. From the end of 1803 to 1820, Mr. Order-son signs all the records: "Harrison" is a misprint: Anderson was not Rector during the disturbances; this name is also a misprint.

The *Death's Deeds* version begins with what the "Anderson" version omits. "July 31, 1807, Mrs. Thomasin Goddard interred in vault which, when opened,

was quite empty." I shall call the Orderson version "O.," the Anderson version "A." A. and O. both record: "Feb. 22, 1808, burial of infant daughter of Hon. Col. Chase in a leaden coffin." (So, too, the Book of Christ Church.)

A. and O. both give July 6, 1812: "Dorcas Chase buried, the two other coffins were in their proper places. They were leaden coffins." (So, too, the Book of Christ Church.)

A. and O. agree that on August 9, 1812, The Hon. Thomas Chase was buried. (So, too, the Book.) The two leaden coffins were found out of place, that of the infant (Feb. 22, 1808), had been thrown from its corner to the opposite angle. If any dead person had done this it must have been Dorcas Chase (July 6, 1812); at least Mrs. Goddard and Mary Anna Maria Chase had previously been tranquil.

Now comes a discrepancy between A. and O.

O. gives "Sept. 25, 1816, Samuel Brewer Ames, an infant, was interred" (so, too, the Book), "and when the vault was opened the leaden coffins were removed from their places, and were in much disorder."

"Nov. 17, 1816, the body of Samuel Brewster was removed from the parish of St. Philip" (so, too, the Book), "and was deposited in the vault, and great confusion was discovered among the leaden coffins."

Samuel Brewster, an adult, is another person than Samuel Brewster Ames, an infant.

A. says nothing about the infant Samuel Brewster Ames, buried on September 25, 1816, but has "September 25, 1816, vault opened for Samuel Brewster, a man whose remains had been removed from St. Philip's, where he was shot in the insurrection of April, 1816, to Christ Church. Great confusion among the coffins." A. gives no interment of November 17, 1816. How are we to account for these variations in the two synoptic records?

The Book of Christ Church answers the question. A. has merely omitted the infant Samuel.

A. and O. both give for July 17, 1819, the burial of *Thomasin* Clarke. So, too, the Book. "Again great confusion." Both A. and O. allege, in different phrases, that on each occasion the coffins were carefully replaced in order, and the vault regularly closed by masons.

A. and O. both give the inspection by Lord Combermere and others on April 18, 1820. A. gives a coloured sketch of the coffins as left all orderly on July 7, 1819, and another of the disorder in which they were found on April 18, 1820. A. adds, "The vault is about 12 feet long, and about 6 to 7 wide. Five times were the coffins found in confusion. All the coffins were of lead, except *Thomasine* Clarke's, which was of wood." Now A., we saw, gives but *four* cases of disturbance, while O., by aid of the infant Samuel, gives five. It thus seems that the writer of A. omitted the infant Samuel, and dated the adult Samuel's burial on the wrong day. The sketches given by O. vary much from those in A.

Since writing so far, I received from my kinsman, Mr. Forster Alleyne of Barbadoes, a third synoptic version. He copied it "from a very old copy on thin blue paper once in the possession of" a sister of Sir R. Boucher Clarke, who was at the last opening of the vault.

This version, signed by Thomas H. Orderson, Rector, I give in full. Within are sketches of the coffins in order and in disorder.

Copy.

Feb. 22, 1808. Vault opened for Mary Ann Maria Chase, infant daughter of the Honbl. Thomas Chase.

July 6, 1812. Vault opened for Dorcas Chase. Mary Ann Maria Chase's coffin was found in its proper place.

Aug. 9, 1812. Vault opened for the Honbl. Thos. Chase. The two coffins above-mentioned were found out of their

proper places. The infant's especially, which had been thrown to the opposite angle of the vault.

Sept. 25, 1816. Vault opened for Samuel B. Ames, an infant. Coffins in great disorder.

Nov. 17, 1816. Vault opened for Samuel Brewster. Great confusion among the coffins.

July 7, 1819. Vault opened for Thomazin Clarke. Coffins found in great confusion.

At each time of the Vault being opened, the coffins were carefully replaced in their proper places, and the mouth of the Vault regularly closed by masons.

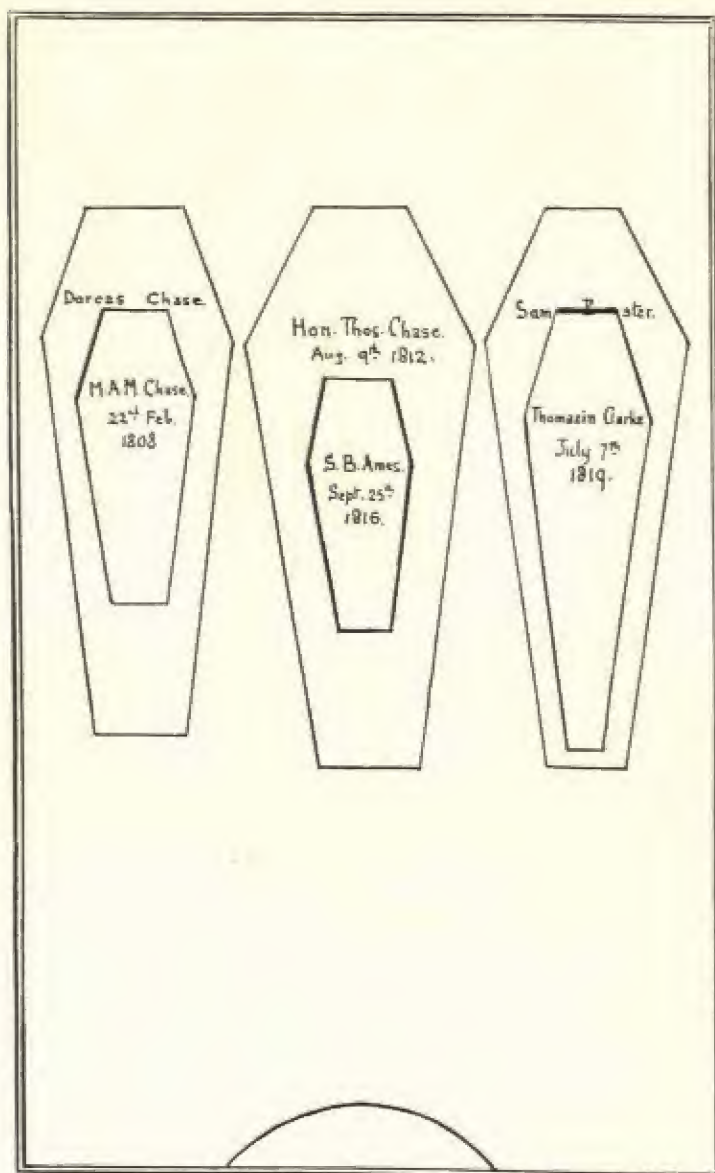
April 18, 1820. In consequence of a noise being heard one night in the Vault, it was opened next day in the presence of Lord Combermere and two other persons of first respectability, and the same confusion prevailed among the coffins, all of which were of lead, except Thomazin Clarke's, which was of cedar.

Signed THOMAS H. ORDERSON,
Rector.

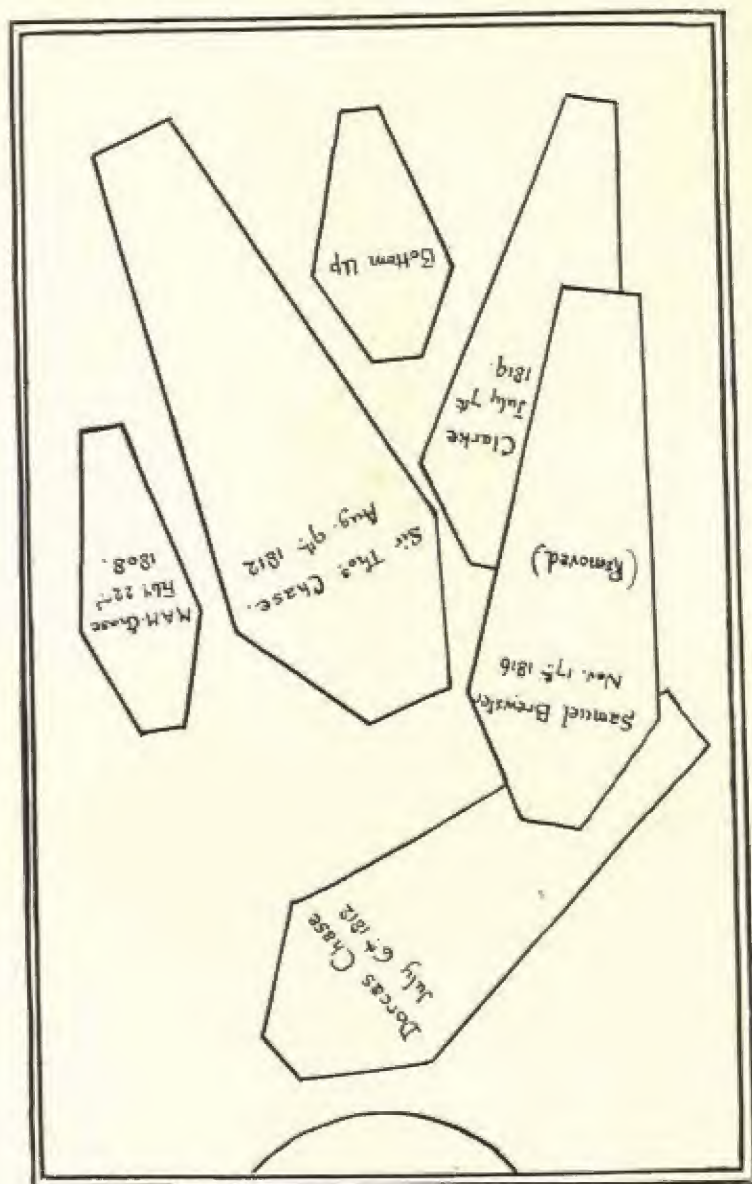
The within was copied from a drawing made on the spot by order of Lord Combermere. [Plates VI. and VII.]

This third version increases the resemblance to the Ahrensburg story, by mentioning that "a noise was heard one night in the vault," which caused Lord Combermere to have the vault opened for the last time, on April 18, 1820. Mr. Orderson, obviously, had to make many copies, and slightly altered them, being weary of repeating identical phrases.

Turning to Schomburgk's *History of Barbadoes* (1844), we learn that fine sand was laid to detect footsteps of marauders, as wood ashes were used at Ahrensburg. Private marks were also found undisturbed, like the seals at Ahrensburg. As at Ahrensburg, the coffins were finally buried in the earth, and I daresay nobody exhumed them to see how they were behaving. Schomburgk gives, like A., *four*, not, like O., *five* disturbances. A. mentions the making of the sketches by one of Lord Combermere's



SITUATION OF THE COFFINS WHEN THE VAULT WAS CLOSED.
JULY 7TH, 1819.
(BARBADOES STORY.)



SITUATION OF THE COFFINS WHEN THE VAULT WAS OPENED.
APRIL 18TH, 1820.
(BARBADOES STORY.)

suite. The author of *Death's Deeds* says that Lord Combermere corroborated personally to her the account which she gives, on the authority of "a medical gentleman, a native of the island." This account enumerates *four* disturbances, not five, and says that (July 7, 1819) Lord Combermere sealed the vault with his official seal. In the "Memoirs and Letters of Lord Combermere" (1868), the whole story is given with copious detail, the source being a privately printed narrative by a native of the colony. This narrative is that used by the author of *Death's Deeds*: I have not obtained a copy.

We have heard of R. Reece,¹ junior, who printed O. On January 4, 1864, he wrote to Major Clarke a letter on the affair; he was himself present at the opening of the vault in 1820. But *now* he calls "T. A. Orderson" by a new name, "The Rev. Thomas Harrison, D.D., late Rector of Christchurch." Misprints certainly cause this variation. This form of the O. version is longer, as to the 1820 affair, than O. as given in *Death's Deeds*.

Finally, we know, or rather we have been told, that the Ahrensburg troubles were caused by a confined suicide. Schomburgk (1844) says nothing of a suicide in the Barbadoes case, so Baron de Guldenstubbé (1859) did not crib *that* from Schomburgk's book. But Reece (1864) says that the negroes in Barbadoes attributed the troubles to a suicide, Dorcas Chase (buried July 6, 1812), who "had starved herself to death owing to her father's cruelty, wherefore the other corpses were desirous to expel her." Reece adds that Colonel Chase also died by his own hand. "He was an immense man, and his coffin, which was of lead, was necessarily of prodigious weight, yet his was thrown to and fro with the greatest violence, and turned topsy-turvy. Certainly no earthquake could have been so violent as to have effected it."

¹ R. Reece to Major Clarke, January 4, 1864. *The Lamp*, June, 1864, pp. 136, 137.

It will be observed that the Oelsen and the Barbadoes tales are precisely similar in every respect, including the supposed cause of trouble, the presence of the corpse of a suicide. Despite the variations between A. and O., I suppose nobody will deny that the odd events did occur at Barbadoes (1812-1820).

The puzzle is to account for the story of their recurrence at Ahrensburg in 1844.

I now give the story as located in England. Sir James Clerke (1833), already cited, says:

"In England there was a parallel occurrence to this some years ago at Staunton, in Suffolk. It is stated that on opening a vault there, several leaden coffins, with wooden cases, which had been fixed on biers, were found displaced, to the great consternation of the villagers. The coffins were again placed as before, and the vault properly closed, when again another of the family dying, they were a second time found displaced; and two years after that they were not only found all off their biers, but one coffin (so heavy as to require eight men to raise it) was found on the fourth step which led down to the vaults, and it seemed perfectly certain that no human hand had done this. As yet no one has satisfactorily accounted for the Barbadian or the Staunton wonder."

Does any one know a village named Staunton in Suffolk?¹

From the date of Sir James's Staunton case, it appears not to be a copy of my next case, which Mr. F. A. Paley, the well-known scholar, dates some twenty years before 1867. Allowing a margin of seven years that brings us to 1840, seven years after Sir James's narrative of 1833.

Mr. Paley writes (*Notes and Queries*, 3rd series, vol. xii., Nov. 9, 1867, p. 371):

¹ [Lewis's *Topographical Dictionary of England* (1831) gives no *Staunton* in Suffolk, but two united parishes of *Stanton All Saints* and *Stanton St. John*, situated about eight miles north-east of Bury St. Edmunds.—Ed.]

"*Disturbance of Coffins in Vaults.* As attention has been directed to this rather curious and perhaps novel subject, I beg to add an instance which occurred within my own knowledge and recollection (some twenty years ago) in the parish of Gretford, near Stamford, a small village of which my father was the rector. Twice, if not thrice, the coffins in a vault were found on re-opening it to have been disarranged. The matter excited some interest in the village at the time, and, of course, was a fertile theme for popular superstition: but I think it was hushed up out of respect to the family to whom the vault belonged.

"A leaden coffin is a very heavy thing indeed; some six men can with difficulty carry it. Whether it can float is a question not very difficult to determine. If it will, it seems a natural, indeed the only explanation of the phenomenon, to suppose that the vault has somehow become filled with water.

"I enclose an extract from the letter of a lady to whom I wrote, not trusting my own memory, as to the details of the case:

Penn., Oct. 15, 1867.

"I remember very well the Gretford vault being opened when we were there. It was *in the church* and belonged to the . . . family. The churchwarden came to tell the rector, who went into the vault, and saw the coffins all in confusion: one little one on the top of a large one, and some tilted on one side against the wall. They were all *lead*, but of course cased in wood. The same vault had been opened once before, and was found in the same state of confusion, and set right by the churchwarden, so that his dismay was great when he found them displaced again. We had no doubt from the situation and nature of the soil, that it had been full of water during some flood which floated the coffins. I daresay . . . is still alive, and could give the date, and

I almost think . . . *saw* what had happened. I feel no doubt myself that lead coffins could *float*. We know a large iron vessel will, without *any* wood casing, and I suppose the flood subsiding would move them. The vault had been walled up, so that no one could have been in it."

"F. A. PALEY."

"Cambridge."

Here the lady makes a guess at the flotation of leaden coffins. An empty iron vessel can float, therefore a lot of leaden coffins can float, can be turned topsy turvy, and so on, when water enters a vault in a church. Perhaps Mr. Paley was justified in his scepticism on this point.

In any case the presence of "casual water" in quantities capable of displacing leaden coffins, cannot account for the repeated disturbances of one vault *alone*, in Barbadoes, on five occasions, in eight years. The water would have washed the sand on the floor about the coffins, and would have left other unmistakable traces of its action. Again, Barbadoes is not, apparently, within the seismic area; it was undisturbed by the destructive earthquakes of the last few years in the West Indies. Earthquakes so local as to disturb, five times, an area of a few feet, and nothing else in the island, are not credible earthquakes.

It is not possible for me to find the cause of the disturbances, but I ask, are the other narratives instances of mythically localising in various places a known set of facts, or, if not, what are they?

I should add that, while the Book of Christ Church, a contemporary record, verifies the Orderson list and dates of burials, the Book contains no reference to the disturbances. They had no business in the mortuary record.

I must again thank Mr. Alleyne for all the trouble he has taken.

I am also grateful to Miss Alice Johnson, Secretary of the Society for Psychical Research, for notes on the identity of the two Barons Guldenstubbé. I am not sure as to which of them wrote the book on "Direct" (not *automatic*) writing. Miss Johnson informs me that Baron Buxhoeuden, in a recent letter to Mr. Solovovo, mentions that old people at Oelsen remember the disturbances of the coffins. The "casual water" theory is now in some vogue. I may add that, as no traces of disturbance of the walls, floor, or roof of the vault were found at Barbadoes, I cannot adopt the theory that enemies of the Chase family caused the trouble. Nor can I admit, as the cause, gas emanating from the coffins. Why should only the Chase coffins be so violently gaseous? Any influx of casual water, again, would leave unmistakable traces of its presence

A. LANG.

POSTSCRIPT.—Since this paper was printed, Mr. Forster Alleyne has renewed his researches in the true spirit of the historian. He has been rewarded by finding a complete autograph record by Mr. Lucas, who, in some accounts, is mentioned as having been present at the final opening of the vault by Lord Combermere, and this record is countersigned by the Rev. Dr. Orderson, Rector of Christchurch. Mr. Lucas, a member of the Parliament of the island, begins by quoting the case at Staunton, Suffolk, from *The European Magazine* of 1814. He says that, when he and Lord Combermere, with others, had discussed the Barbadoes case on April 18, 1820, they walked straight to the vault, and had it opened, finding wild confusion among leaden coffins, but not in those of wood. He denies that there was

any trace of the presence of water, and dismisses the idea of recurrent local earthquakes of limited area. He can guess at no explanation of the facts. It is obvious that an explosion of gas in a coffin could not move it without exploding it, as in the case of the coffin of Henry VIII at Windsor. But Mr. Lucas says nothing of any injury to any coffin. Mr. Alleyne has also found allusions to the subject in the correspondence of one of his family in 1820. The evidence for the facts is thus complete.—A. L.

THE PRINCIPLES OF FASTING.

BY EDWARD WESTERMARCK, PH.D.

By fasting is understood abstinence from all food and drink, or at least—in a looser sense of the word—from certain kinds of food, for a determined period. The custom of fasting is wide-spread among peoples at very different stages of civilisation, and is practised for a variety of purposes. In the present article I shall attempt to set forth the chief principles to which it may be traced.

A frequent and well-known object of fasting is to serve as a means of having supernatural converse, or acquiring supernatural powers.¹ The savage, as Professor Tylor remarks, has many a time, for days and weeks together, to try involuntarily the effects of fasting, accompanied with other privations and with prolonged solitary contemplation in the desert or the forest. Under these circumstances he soon comes to see and talk with phantoms, which are to him visible personal spirits, and, having thus learnt the secret of spiritual intercourse, he thenceforth reproduces the cause in order to renew the effects.² The Hindus believe that a fasting person will ascend to the heaven of that god in whose name he

¹ See, e.g. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, ii. 410 sqq.; Lubbock, *Origin of Civilisation*, p. 266 sqq.; Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*, i. 261; Landtman, *Origin of Priesthood*, pp. 118-123, 158 sqq.

² Tylor, *op. cit.* ii. 410.

observes the fast.¹ The Hebrews associated fasting with divine revelations.² St. Chrysostom says that fasting "makes the soul brighter, and gives it wings to mount up and soar on high."³

Ideas of this kind partly underlie the common practice of abstaining from food before or in connection with the performance of a magic or religious ceremony;⁴ but there is yet another ground for this practice. The effect attributed to fasting is not merely psychical, but it also prevents pollution. Food may cause defilement, and, like other polluting matter, be detrimental to sanctity. Among the Maoris, "no food is permitted to touch the head or hair of a chief, which is sacred; and if food is mentioned in connection with anything sacred (or 'tapu') it is considered as an insult, and revenged as such."⁵ So also a full stomach may be polluting.⁶ This is obviously the reason why in Morocco and elsewhere⁷

¹ Ward, *View of the History, etc. of the Hindoos*, ii. 77.

² *Exodus*, xxxiv. 28. *Deuteronomy*, ix. 9. *Daniel*, ix. 3.

³ St. Chrysostom, *In Cap. I. Genes. Homil. X.* (Migne, *Patrologia cursus*, Ser. Græca, liii. 83). Cf. Tertullian, *De jejuniis*, 6 sqq. (Migne, ii. 960, 961, 963); Haug, *Alterthümer der Christen*, pp. 476, 482.

⁴ Boas, *Travels through Louisiana*, i. 38 (Natchez). Clavigero, *History of Mexico*, i. 285 sq.; Bancroft, *Native Races of the Pacific States*, iii. 440 sq. (ancient Mexicans). Landa, *Relacion de las cosas de Yucatan*, p. 156. Junghuhn, *Die Battaländer auf Sumatra*, ii. 311 sq. (natives of Tjumba). Beauchamp, in the Madras Government Museum's *Bulletin*, iv. 56 (Hindus of Southern India). Ward, *op. cit.* ii. 76 sq. (Hindus). Wassiljew, quoted by Haberland, 'Gebräuche und Aberglauben beim Essen,' in *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie*, xviii. 30 (Buddhists). Prophyry, *De abstinencia ab esu animalium*, ii. 44; Wachsmuth, *Hellenische Alterthumskunde*, ii. 560, 576; Hermann-Stark, *Lehrbuch der gottesdienstlichen Alterthümer der Griechen*, p. 381; Anrich, *Das antike Mysterienwesen*, p. 25; Diels, 'Ein orphischer Demeterhymnus,' in *Festschrift Theodor Gomperz dargebracht*, p. 6 sqq. Chwolson, *Die Ssabier und der Ssabismus*, ii. 23, 74.

⁵ Angas, *Polynesia*, p. 149.

⁶ See Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, p. 434 sq.

⁷ Wuttke, *Der deutsche Volksaberglaube der Gegenwart*, § 219, p. 161.

certain magic practices, in order to be efficacious, have to be performed before breakfast. The Masai use strong purges before they venture to eat holy meat.¹ The Caribs purified their bodies by purging, bloodletting, and fasting;² and the natives of the Antilles, at certain religious festivals, cleansed themselves by vomiting before they approached the sanctuary.³ The true object of fasting often appears from the fact that it is practised hand in hand with other ceremonies of a purificatory character. A Lappish *noaide*, or wizard, prepares himself for the offering of a sacrifice by abstinence from food and ablutions.⁴ Herodotus tells us that the ancient Egyptians fasted before making a sacrifice to Isis, and beat their bodies while the victims were burnt.⁵ When a Hindu resolves to visit a sacred place, he has his head shaved two days preceding the commencement of his journey, and fasts the next day; on the last day of his journey he fasts again, and on his arrival at the sacred spot he has his whole body shaved, after which he bathes.⁶ In Christianity we likewise meet with fasting as a rite of purification. At least as early as the time of Tertullian it was usual for communicants to prepare themselves by fasting for receiving the Eucharist;⁷ and to this day Roman Catholicism regards it as unlawful to consecrate or partake of it after food or drink.⁸ The Lent fast itself was partly interpreted as a purifying preparation for the holy table.⁹ And in the early

¹ Thomson, *Through Masai Land* (1887), p. 430.

² Waitz, *Anthropologie der Naturvölker*, iv. 330.

³ *Ibid.* iii. 384.

⁴ von Düben, *Lappland*, p. 256. Friis, *Lappisk Mythologi*, p. 145 sq.

⁵ Herodotus, ii. 40.

⁶ Ward, *op. cit.* ii. 130 sq. Cf. *Institutes of Vishnu*, xlv. 17, 24 sq.

⁷ Tertullian, *De oratione*, 19 (Migne, *op. cit.* i. 1182).

⁸ *Catechism of the Council of Trent*, ii. 4. 6.

⁹ St. Jerome, *In Jonam*, 3 (Migne, *op. cit.* xxv. 1140).

Church catechumens were also accustomed to fast before baptism.¹

In the case of a sacrifice it is considered necessary not only that he who offers it, but that the victim also, should be free from pollution. In ancient Egypt a sacrificial animal had to be perfectly clean.² According to Hindu notions the gods enjoy pure sacrifices only.³ In the Kalika-Purana, a work supposed to have been written under the direction of Siva, it is said that if a man is offered he must be free from corporal defect and unstained with great crimes, and that if an animal is offered it must have exceeded its third year and be without blemish or disease; and in no case must the victim be a woman or a she animal, because, as it seems, females are regarded as naturally unclean.⁴ According to the religious law of the Hebrews, no leaven or honey should be used in connection with vegetable offerings, on the ground that these articles have the effect of producing fermentation and tend to acidify and spoil anything with which they are mixed;⁵ and the animal which was intended for sacrifice should be absolutely free from blemish⁶ and at least eight days old,⁷ that is, untainted with the impurity of birth. Quite in harmony with these prescriptions is the notion that human or animal victims have to abstain from food for some time before they are offered up. Among the Kandhs the man who was destined to be sacrificed was kept fasting from the preceding evening, but on the day of the sacrifice he was refreshed with a little milk and palm-sago; and before he was led forth from the village in solemn procession he

¹ Justin Martyr, *Apologia I. pro Christianis*, 61 (Migne, *op. cit.* Ser. Græca, vi. 420). St. Augustine, *De fide et operibus*, vl. 3 (Migne, xl. 202).

² Herodotus, ii. 38.

³ *Baudhāyana*, i. 6. 13. 1 sq.

⁴ Dubois, *Description of the Character, etc. of the People of India* (1817), p. 491.

⁵ Keil, *Manual of Biblical Archaeology*, i. 262.

⁶ *Leviticus*, xxii. 19 sqq.

⁷ *Ibid.* xxii. 27.

was carefully washed and dressed in a new garment.¹ In Morocco it is not only considered meritorious for the people to fast on the day previous to the celebration of the yearly sacrificial feast, *L'aid L-kbir*, but in several parts of the country the sheep which is going to be sacrificed has to fast on that day or at least on the following morning, till some food is given it immediately before it is slaughtered. The Jewish custom which compels the first-born to fast on the eve of Passover² may also perhaps be a survival from a time when all the first-born belonged to the Lord.³

In some cases the custom of fasting before the performance of a sacrifice may be due to the idea that it is dangerous or improper for the worshipper to partake of food before the god has had his share. In India a regular performance of two half-monthly sacrifices is enjoined on the Brahmanical householder for a period of thirty years from the time when he has set up a fire of his own—according to some authorities even for the rest of his life. The ceremony usually occupies two consecutive days, the first of which is chiefly taken up with preparatory rites and the vow of abstinence (*vrata*) by the sacrificer and his wife, whilst the second day is reserved for the main performance of the sacrifice. The *vrata* includes the abstention from certain kinds of food, especially meat, which will be offered to the gods on the following day, as also from other carnal pleasures. The Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa gives the following explanation of it:—"The gods see through the mind of man; they know that, when he enters on this vow, he means to sacrifice to them the next morning. Therefore all the gods betake themselves to his house, and abide by him or the fires (*upa-vas*) in

¹ Macpherson, *Memorials of Service in India*, p. 118.

² Greenstone, 'Fasting,' in *Jewish Encyclopedia*, v. 348. Allen, *Modern Judaism*, p. 394.

³ Cf. Westermarck, *Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, i. 459.

his house; whence this day is called *upa-vasatha*. Now, as it would even be unbecoming for him to take food before men who are staying with him as his guests have eaten; how much more would it be so, if he were to take food before the gods who are staying with him have eaten: let him therefore take no food at all."¹ It is hardly probable, however, that this is the original meaning of the abstinence in question. It occurs about the time of new moon and full moon; according to some native authorities the abstinence and sacrifice take place on the last two days of each half of the lunar month, whilst the generality of ritualistic writers consider the first day of the half-month—that is, the first and sixteenth days of the month—to be the proper time for the sacrifice.² We shall presently see how frequently fasting is observed on these occasions, presumably for fear of eating food which is supposed to have been polluted by the moon; hence it seems to me by no means improbable that the *vrata* has a similar origin, instead of being merely a rite preparatory to the sacrifice which follows it. But at the same time the idea that spirits or gods should have the first share of a meal is certainly very ancient, and may lead to actual fasting in case the offering for some reason or other is to be delayed. A Polynesian legend tells us that a man by name Maui once caught an immense fish. Then he left his brothers, saying to them:—"After I am gone, be courageous and patient; do not eat food until I return, and do not let one fish be cut up, but rather leave it until I have carried an offering to the gods from this great haul of fish, and until I have found a priest, that fitting prayers and sacrifices may be offered to the god, and the necessary rites be completed in order. We shall thus all be purified. I will then return,

¹ *Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa*, i. 1. 1. 7 sq. Eggeling, in *Sacred Books of the East*, xii. 1 sq. Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Vedā*, p. 143, n. 1.

² Eggeling, in *Sacred Books of the East*, xii. 1.

and we can cut up this fish in safety, and it shall be fairly portioned out to this one, and to that one, and to that other." But as soon as Maui had gone, his brothers began at once to eat food, and to cut up the fish. Had Maui previously reached the sacred place, the heart of the deity would have been appeased with the offering of a portion of the fish which had been caught by his disciples, and all the male and female deities would have partaken of their portions of the sacrifice. But now the gods turned with wrath upon them, on account of the fish which they had thus cut up without having made a fitting sacrifice.¹

Among many peoples custom prescribes fasting after a death. Lucian says that at the funeral feast the parents of the deceased are prevailed upon by their relatives to take food, being almost prostrated by a three days' fast.² We are told that among the Hindus children fast three days after the death of a parent, and a wife the same period after the death of her husband;³ but according to a more recent statement, to be quoted presently, they do not altogether abstain from food. In one of the sacred books of India it is said that mourners shall fast during three days, and that, if they are unable to do so, they shall subsist on food bought in the market or given unasked.⁴ Among the Nayādis of Malabar "from the time of death until the funeral is over, all the relations must fast."⁵ Among the Irulas of the Neilgherries "the relatives of the deceased fast during the first day, that is, if . . . the death occur after the morning meal, they refrain from the evening one, and eat nothing till the next morning. If it occur during the night, or before the

¹ Grey, *Polynesian Mythology*, p. 26 sq.

² Lucian, *De luctu*, 24.

³ Ward, *View of the History, etc. of the Hindoos*, ii. 76 sq.

⁴ *Varishtha*, iv. 14 sq. Cf. *Institutes of Vishnu*, xix. 14.

⁵ Thurston, in the Madras Government Museum's *Bulletin*, iv. 76.

morning meal, they refrain from all food till the evening. Similar fasting is observed on every return of the same day of the week, till the obsequies take place."¹ Among the Bogos of Eastern Africa a son must fast three days after the death of his father.² On the Gold Coast it is the custom for the near relatives of the deceased to perform a long and painful fast, and sometimes they can only with difficulty be induced to have recourse to food again.³ So also in Dahomey they must fast during the "corpse time," or mourning.⁴ Among the Brazilian Parese the relatives of a dead person remain for six days at his grave, carefully refraining from taking food.⁵ Among the aborigines of the Antilles children used to fast after the death of a parent, a husband after the death of his wife, and a wife after the death of her husband.⁶ In some Indian tribes of North America it is the custom for the relatives of the deceased to fast till the funeral is over.⁷ Among the Snanaimuq, a tribe of the Coast Salish, after the death of a husband or wife the surviving partner must not eat anything for three or four days.⁸ In one of the interior divisions of the Salish of British Columbia, the Stlatlunh, the next four days after a funeral feast are spent by the members of the household of the deceased person in fasting, lamenting and ceremonial ablutions.⁹

¹ Harkness, *Description of a Singular Race inhabiting the Neilgherry Hills*, p. 97.

² Munzinger, *Die Sitten und das Recht der Bogos*, p. 29.

³ Cruickshank, *Eighteen Years on the Gold Coast*, ii. 218.

⁴ Burton, *Mission to Gelele*, ii. 163.

⁵ von den Steinen, *Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Braasiens*, p. 435. Cf. *ibid.* p. 339 (Bakatri).

⁶ Du Tertre, *Histoire generale des Antilles*, ii. 371.

⁷ Charlevoix, *Voyage to North-America*, ii. 187.

⁸ Boas, in *Fifth Report on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 45.

⁹ Tout, 'Ethnology of the Stlatlunh of British Columbia,' in *four. Anthr. Int.* xxxv. 138.

Among the Upper Thompson Indians in British Columbia, again, those who handled the dead body and who dug the grave had to fast until the corpse was buried.¹

In several instances fasting after a death is observed only in the daytime.

David and his people fasted for Saul and Jonathan until even on the day when the news of their death arrived.² Among the Arabs of Morocco it is the custom that if a death takes place in the morning everyone in the village refrains from food until the dead is buried in the afternoon or evening; but if a person dies so late that he cannot be buried till the next morning the people eat at night. In the Pelew Islands, as long as the dead is unburied, fasting is observed in the daytime but not in the evening.³ In Fiji after a burial the *kana-bog*, or fasting till evening, is practised for ten or twenty days.⁴ In Samoa it was common for those who attended the deceased to eat nothing during the day, but to have a meal at night.⁵ In the 'Tuhoe tribe of the Maoris, "when a chief of distinction died his widow and children would remain for some time within the *whare potae* [that is, mourning house], eating food during the nighttime only, never during the day."⁶ The Sacs and Foxes in Nebraska formerly required that children should fast for three months after the death of a parent, except that they every day about sunset were allowed to partake of a meal made entirely of hominy.⁷ Among the Kansas a man who loses his wife must fast from sunrise to sunset for a year and a half, and a woman who loses her husband must

¹ Teit, 'Thompson Indians of British Columbia,' in *Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History*, Anthropology, I. 331.

² Samuel, I. 12. Cf. *ibid.* III. 35.

³ Waitz, *op. cit.* v. 153.

⁴ Williams and Calvert, *Fiji*, p. 169.

⁵ Turner, *Nineteen Years in Polynesia*, p. 228. *Idem*, *Samoa*, p. 145.

⁶ Best, 'Tuhoe Land,' in *Trans. and Proceed. of the New Zealand Institute*, xxx. 38.

⁷ Yarrow, 'Mortuary Customs of the North American Indians,' in *Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethn.* I. 93.

observe a similar fast for a year.¹ In some tribes of British Columbia and among the 'Thlinkets, until the dead body is buried the relatives of the deceased may eat a little at night but have to fast during the day.² Among the Upper Thompson Indians a different custom prevailed: "nobody was allowed to eat, drink, or smoke in the open air after sunset (others say after dusk) before the burial, else the ghost would harm them."³

Very frequently mourners have to abstain from certain victuals only, especially flesh or fish, or some other staple or favourite food.

In Greenland everybody who had lived in the same house with the dead, or who had touched his corpse, was for some time forbidden to partake of certain kinds of food.⁴ Among the Upper Thompson Indians "parents bereft of a child did not eat fresh meat for several months."⁵ Among the Stlatumh of British Columbia a widow might eat no fresh food for a whole year, whilst the other members of the deceased person's family abstained from such food for a period of from four days to as many months. A widower was likewise forbidden to eat fresh meats for a certain period, the length of which varied with the age of the person—the younger the man, the longer his abstention.⁶ In some of the Goajiro clans of Colombia a person is prohibited from eating flesh during the mourning time, which lasts nine days.⁷ Among the Abipones, when a chief died, the whole tribe abstained for a month from eating fish, their principal dainty.⁸ While in mourning, the Northern Queensland aborigines carefully avoid certain victuals, believing that the forbidden

¹ Dorsey, 'Mourning and War Customs of the Kansas,' in *American Naturalist*, xix. 679 sq.

² Boas, *loc. cit.* p. 41.

³ Teit, *loc. cit.* p. 328.

⁴ Egede, *Description of Greenland* (1745), p. 149 sq. Cranz, *History of Greenland* (1820), i. 218.

⁵ Teit, *loc. cit.* p. 332.

⁶ Tont, in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.* xxv. 138 sq.

⁷ Candelier, *Rio-Hacha*, p. 220. ⁸ Charlevoix, *History of Paraguay*, i. 405.

food, if eaten, would burn up their bowels.¹ In Easter Island the nearest relatives of the dead are for a year or even longer obliged to abstain from eating potatoes, their chief article of food, or some other victuals of which they are particularly fond.² Certain Papuans and various tribes in the Malay Archipelago prohibit persons in mourning from eating rice or sago.³ In the Andaman Islands mourners refuse to partake of their favourite viands.⁴ After the death of a relative the Tipperahs abstain from flesh for a week.⁵ The same is the case with the Arakh, a tribe in Oudh, during the fifteen days in the month of Kuâr which are sacred to the worship of the dead.⁶ Among the Nayâdis of Malabar the relatives of the deceased are not allowed to eat meat for ten days after his death.⁷ According to Toda custom the near relatives must not eat rice, milk, honey, or gram, until the funeral is over.⁸ Among the Hindus described by Mr. Chunder Bose a widow is restricted to one scanty meal a day, and this is of the coarsest description and always devoid of fish, the most esteemed article of food in a Hindu lady's bill of fare. The son, again, from the hour of his father's death to the conclusion of the funeral ceremony, is allowed to take only a meal consisting of *atab* rice, a sort of inferior pulse, milk, ghee, sugar, and a few fruits, and at night a little milk, sugar, and fruits—a *régime* which lasts ten days in the

¹ Lûmholtz, *Among Cannibals*, p. 203.

² Geiseler, *Die Oster-Insel*, pp. 28, 30.

³ Wilken, 'Ueber das Haaropfer, und einige andere Trauergelübde bei den Völkern Indonesien's,' in *Revue coloniale internationale*, iv. 348 sq.

⁴ Man, 'Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands,' in *Jour. Anthropol. Inst.* xlii. 142, 353.

⁵ Browne, quoted by Dalton, *op. cit.* p. 110.

⁶ Crooke, *Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, i. 84.

⁷ Thurston, in the Madras Government Museum's *Bulletin*, iv. 76.

⁸ *Ibid.*, i. 174. Dr. Rivers says (*Todar*, p. 370) that, among the Todas, a widower is not allowed to eat rice nor drink milk, and that on every return of the day of the week on which his wife died he takes no food in the morning but only has his evening meal. The same holds good for a widow.

case of a Brahmin and thirty-one days in the case of a Sûdra. In some of the sacred books of India it is said that, during the period of impurity, all the mourners shall abstain from eating meat.² In China "meat, must, and spirits were forbidden even in the last month of the deepest mourning, when other sorts of food had long been allowed already."³

The custom of fasting after a death has been ascribed to different causes by different writers. Mr. Spencer believes that it has resulted from the habit of making excessive provision for the dead.⁴ But although among some peoples the funeral offerings no doubt are so extensive as to reduce the survivors to poverty and starvation,⁵ I have met with no statement to the effect that they are anxious to give to the deceased all the eatables which they possess, or that the mourning fast is a matter of actual necessity. It is always restricted to some fixed period, often to a few days only, and it prevails among many peoples who have never been known to be profuse in their sacrifices to the dead. With reference to the Chinese, Dr. de Groot maintains that the mourners originally fasted with a view to being able to sacrifice so much the more at the tomb; and he bases this conclusion on the fact that the articles of food which were forbidden till the end of the deepest mourning were the very same as those which in ancient China played the principal part at every burial sacrifice.⁶ But this prohibition may also perhaps be due to a belief that the offering of certain victuals to the dead pollutes all food belonging to the same species.

¹ Bose, *The Hindoos as they are*, pp. 244, 254 sq.

² Gautama, xiv. 39. *Institutes of Vîshnu*, xix. 15.

³ de Groot, *Religious System of China* (vol. ii. book), i. 651.

⁴ Spencer, *op. cit.* i. 261 sqq.

⁵ *Ibid.* i. 262.

⁶ de Groot, *op. cit.* (vol. ii. book), i. 652.

Professor Wilken, again, suggests that the mourners abstain from food till they have given the dead his due, in order to show that they do not wish to keep him waiting longer than is necessary and thus make him kindly disposed towards them.¹ This explanation presupposes that the fast is immediately followed by offerings or a feast for the dead. In some instances this is expressly said to be the case;² the ancient Chinese, for instance, observed a special fast as an introductory rite to the sacrifices which they offered to the manes at regular periods after the demise and even after the close of the mourning.³ But generally there is no indication of the mourning fast being an essential preliminary to a sacrifice to the dead, and in an instance mentioned above the funeral feast regularly precedes it.⁴

It seems that Dr. Frazer comes much nearer the truth when he observes that people originally fasted after a death "just in those circumstances in which they considered that they might possibly in eating devour a ghost."⁵ Yet I think it would be more correct to say that they were afraid of swallowing, not the ghost, but food polluted with the contagion of death. The dead body is regarded as a seat of infection, which defiles anything in its immediate neighbourhood, and this infection is of course considered particularly dangerous if it is allowed to enter into the bowels. In certain cases the length of the mourning fast is obviously determined by the belief in the polluting presence of the ghost. The six days' fast of the Paressi coincides with the period

¹ Wilken, in *Revue coloniale internationale*, iv. 347, 348, 350 *sq.* n. 32.

² Selenka, *Sonnige Welten*, p. 90 (Dyaks). Black, 'Fasting,' in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, ix. 44.

³ de Groot, *op. cit.* (vol. ii. book) i. 656.

⁴ *Supra*, p. 398.

⁵ Frazer, 'Certain Burial Customs as illustrative of the Primitive Theory of the Soul,' in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.* xv. 94. See also Oldenberg, *op. cit.* pp. 270, 590.

after which the dead is supposed to have arrived in heaven no longer to return; and they say that anybody who should fail to observe this fast would "eat the mouth of the dead," and die himself.¹ Frequently the fasting lasts till the corpse is buried; and burial is a common safeguard against the return of the ghost. The custom of restricting the fast to the daytime probably springs from the idea that a ghost cannot see in the dark, and is consequently unable to come and pollute the food at night. That the object of the fast is to prevent pollution is also suggested by its resemblance to some other practices, which are evidently intended to serve this purpose. The Maoris were not allowed to eat on or near any spot where a dead body had been buried, or to take a meal in a canoe while passing opposite to such a place.² In Samoa, while a dead body is in the house, no food is eaten under the same roof, hence the family have their meals outside, or in another house.³ The Todas, who fast on the day when a death has taken place, have on the following day their meals served in another hut.⁴ In one of the sacred books of India it is said that a Brâhmana "shall not eat in the house of a relation within six degrees where a person has died, before the ten days of impurity have elapsed"; in a house "where a lying-in woman has not yet come out of the lying-in chamber; nor in a house where a corpse lies";⁵ and in connection with this last injunction we are told that, when a person who is not a relation has died, it is customary to place at the distance of "one hundred bows" a lamp and water-vessel, and to eat beyond that distance.⁶ In one of the Zoroas-

¹ von den Steinen, *op. cit.* p. 434 sq.

² Polack, *Manners and Customs of the New Zealanders*, i. 239.

³ Turner, *Nineteen Years in Polynesia*, p. 228. *Idem*, *Samoa*, p. 145.

⁴ Thurston, in the Madras Government Museum's *Bulletin*, i. 174.

⁵ *Apastamba*, i. 5. 16. 18 sqq.

⁶ Haradatta, quoted by Bühler, in *Sacred Books of the East*, ii. 59, n. 20.

trian books Ormuzd is represented as saying: "In a house when a person shall die, until three nights are completed . . . nothing whatever of meat is to be eaten by his relations";¹ and the obvious reason for this rule was the belief that the soul of the dead was hovering about the body for the first three nights after death.²

Closely related to this custom is that of the modern Parsis, which forbids for three days all cooking under a roof where a death has occurred, but allows the inmates to obtain food from their neighbours and friends.³ Among the Agariya, a Dravidian tribe in the hilly parts of Mirzápur, no fire is lit and no cooking is done in the house of a dead person on the day when he is cremated, the food being cooked in the house of the brother-in-law of the deceased.⁴ In Mykonos, one of the Cyclades, it is considered wrong to cook in the house of mourning, hence friends and relatives come laden with food, and lay the "bitter table."⁵ Among the Albanians there is no cooking in the house for three days after a death, and the family are fed by friends.⁶ So also the Maronites of Syria "dress no victuals for some time in the house of the deceased, but their relations and friends supply them."⁷ When a Jew dies all the water in the same and adjoining houses is instantly thrown away;⁸ nobody may eat in the same room with the corpse, unless there is only one room in the house, in which case the inhabitants may take food in it if they interpose a screen, so that in eating they

¹ *Shdyast Lâ-Shdyast*, xvii. 2.

² West, in *Sacred Books of the East*, v. 382, n. 3.

³ West, *ibid.* v. 382, n. 2.

⁴ Crooke, *Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces*, i. 7.

⁵ Bent, *Cyclades*, p. 221. ⁶ von Hahn, *Albanesische Studien*, p. 151.

⁷ Dandini, 'Voyage to Mount Libanus,' in Pinkerton, *Collection of Voyages*, x. 290.

⁸ Allen, *Modern Judaism*, p. 435.

do not see the corpse; they must abstain from flesh and wine so long as the dead body is in the house;¹ and on the evening of mourning the members of the family may not eat their own food, but are supplied with food by their friends.² Among the Arabs of Morocco, if a person has died in the morning, no fire is made in the whole village until he is buried, and in some parts of the country the inmates of a house or tent where a death has occurred, abstain from making fire for two or three days. In Algeria "dès que quelqu'un est mort, on ne doit pas allumer de feu dans la maison pendant trois jours, et il est défendu de toucher à de la viande rôtie, grillée ou bouillie, à moins qu'elle ne vienne de quelqu'un de dehors."³ In China, for seven days after a death, "no food is cooked in the house, and friends and neighbours are trusted to supply the common necessities of life."⁴ There is no sufficient reason to assume that this practice of abstaining from cooking food after a death is a survival of a previous mourning fast, but the two customs seem partly to have a similar origin. The cooking may contaminate the food if done in a polluted house, or by a polluted individual. The relatives of the dead, or persons who have handled the corpse, are regarded as defiled; hence they have to abstain from cooking food, as they have to abstain from any kind of work,⁵ and from sexual inter-

¹ Bodenschatz, *Kirchliche Verfassung der heutigen Juden*, iv. 177.

² Buxtorf, *Synagoga Judaica* (1680), p. 707.

³ Certeux and Carnoy, *L'Algérie traditionnelle*, p. 220.

⁴ Gray, *China*, i. 287 sq.

⁵ Egede, *Description of Greenland*, p. 149 sq. Nelson, 'Eskimo about Bering Strait,' in *Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethn.* xviii. 319. Maccauley, 'Seminole Indians of Florida,' *ibid.* v. 32. Jochelson, 'Koryak Religion,' in *Jessup North Pacific Expedition*, vi. 104. Kloss, *In the Andaman and Nicobars*, p. 305 (Kar Nicobarese). Turner, *Samoa*, p. 146. Campbell, *Second Journey in the Interior of South Africa*, ii. 204 (Bechuanas). Casalis, *Barotsi*, p. 260.

course.¹ Hence, also, they are often prohibited from touching food; and this may in some cases have led to fasting, whilst in other instances they have to be fed by their neighbours.²

However, an unclean individual may be supposed to pollute a piece of food not only by touching it with his hand, but in some cases by eating it, and, in accordance with the principle of *pars pro toto*, the pollution may then spread to all victuals belonging to the same species. Ideas of this kind are sometimes conspicuous in connection with the restrictions in diet after a death. Thus the Siciatl of British Columbia believe that a dead body, or anything connected with the dead, is inimical to the salmon, and therefore the relatives of a deceased person must abstain from eating salmon in the early stages of the run, as also from entering a creek where salmon are found.³ Among the Stlatlunh, a neighbouring people, not even elderly widowers, for whom the period of abstention is comparatively short, are allowed to eat fresh salmon till the first of the run is over and the fish have arrived in such numbers that there is no danger of their being driven away.⁴ It is not unlikely that if the motives for the restrictions in diet after a death were sufficiently known

¹ Teit, *loc. cit.* p. 331 (Upper Thompson Indians). Tout, in *four. Anthr. Inst.* xxxv. 139 (Stlatlunh of British Columbia). Oldenberg, *op. cit.* pp. 578, 590; Caland, *Die altindischen Todten- und Bestattungsgebräuche*, p. 81. de Groot, *op. cit.* (vol. ii. book) i. 609 (Chinese). Wilken, in *Revue internationale coloniale*, iv. 352, n. 41.

² Turner, *Samoa*, p. 145; *Idem*, *Nineteen Years in Polynesia*, p. 228 (Samoans). Ellis, *Polynesian Researches* (1859), i. 403 (Tahitians). Frazer, *Golden Bough* (1900), i. 323 (Maoris). Williams and Calvert, *Fiji*, p. 169. Among the Upper Thompson Indians the persons who handled the dead body would not touch the food with their hands, but must put it into their mouths with sharp-pointed sticks (Teit, *loc. cit.* p. 331).

³ Tout, 'Ethnology of the Siciatl of British Columbia,' in *four. Anthr.* xxxiv. 33.

⁴ Tout, in *four. Anthr. Inst.* xxxv. 139.

in each case, a similar fear lest the unclean mourner should pollute the whole species by polluting some individual member of it would be found to be a common cause of those rules which prohibit the eating of staple or favourite food.¹ But it would seem that such rules also may spring from the idea that this kind of food is particularly sought for by the dead and therefore defiled.

Moreover, unclean individuals are not only a danger to others, but are themselves in danger. As Dr. Frazer has shown, they are supposed to be in a delicate condition, which imposes upon them various precautions;² and one of these may be restrictions in their diet. Among the Thlinkets and some peoples in British Columbia the relatives of the deceased not only fast till the body is buried, but have their faces blackened, cover their heads with ragged mats, and must speak but little, confining themselves to answering questions, as it is believed that they would else become chatterboxes.³ According to early ideas, mourners are in a state very similar to that of girls at puberty, who also, among various peoples, are obliged to fast or abstain from certain kinds of food on account of their uncleanness.⁴ Among the Slatlumb,

¹ In the Arunta tribe, Central Australia, no menstruous woman is allowed to gather the Irriakura bulbs, which form a staple article of diet for both men and women, the idea being that any infringement of the restriction would result in the failure of the supply of the bulb (Spencer and Gillan, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 615).

² Frazer, *Golden Bough*, i. 343, etc.

³ Boas, *loc. cit.* p. 41.

⁴ Boas, *loc. cit.* p. 40 sqq. (various tribes in British Columbia). Toot, in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.* xxxiv. 33 (Siciatl). Sproat, *Scenes and Studies of Savage Life*, p. 93 sq. (Ahts). Bourke, 'Medicine-Men of the Apache,' in *Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethn.* ix. 501. Du Tertre, *Histoire générale des Antilles*, ii. 371. Schomburgk, 'Natives of Guiana,' in *Jour. Ethn. Soc. London*, i. 269 sq. von Martius, *Beiträge zur Ethnographie Amerika's*, i. 644 (Macusis). Seligmann, in *Reports of the Cambridge Expedition to Torres Straits*, v. 200 sqq. (Western Islanders). Man, 'Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands,' in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.* xii. 94. See Frazer, *op. cit.* iii. 205 sqq.

for instance, when a girl reaches puberty, she fasts for the first four days and abstains from fresh meats of any kind throughout the whole period of her seclusion. "There was a two-fold object in this abstention. First, the girl, it was thought, would be harmed by the fresh meat in her peculiar condition; and second, the game animals would take offence if she partook of their meat in these circumstances," and would not permit her father to kill them.¹

It should finally be noticed that, though the custom of fasting after a death in the main has a superstitious origin, there may at the same time be a physiological motive for it.² Even the rudest savage feels afflicted at the death of a friend, and grief is accompanied by a loss of appetite. This natural disinclination to partake of food may, combined with superstitious fear, have given rise to prohibitory rules, nay, may even in the first instance have suggested the idea that there is danger in taking food. The mourning observances so commonly coincide with the natural expressions of sorrow, that we are almost bound to assume the existence of some connection between them, even though in their developed forms the superstitious motive be the most prominent.

An important survival of the mourning fast is the Lent fast. It originally lasted for forty hours only, that is, the time when Christ lay in the grave.³ Irenaeus speaks of the fast of forty hours before Easter,⁴ and

¹Tout, in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.* xxxv. 136.

²Cf. Mallery, 'Manners and Meals,' in *American Anthropologist*, i. 202; Brinton, *Religions of Primitive Peoples*, p. 213; Schurtz, *Urgeschichte der Kultur*, p. 587.

³Cf. *St. Matthew*, ix. 15; *St. Mark*, ii. 20; *St. Luke*, v. 35.

⁴Irenaeus, quoted by Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica*, v. 24 (Migne, *Patrologia cursus*, Ser. Graeca, xx. 501). Cf. Funk, 'Die Entwicklung des Osterfastens,' in *Theologische Quartalschrift*, lxxv. 181 sqq.; Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, p. 241.

Tertullian, when a Montanist disputing against the Catholics, says that the only legitimate days for Christian fasting were those in which the Bridegroom was taken away.¹ Subsequently, however, the forty hours were extended to forty days, in imitation of the forty days' fasts of Moses, Elijah, and Christ.²

Not only on a death, but on certain other occasions, food is supposed to pollute or injure him who partakes of it, and is therefore to be avoided. In Pfalz the people maintain that no food should be taken at an eclipse of the sun;³ and all over Germany there is a popular belief that anybody who eats during a thunderstorm will be struck by the lightning.⁴ When the Todas know that there is going to be an eclipse of the sun or the moon, they abstain from food.⁵ Among the Hindus, while an eclipse is going on, "drinking water, eating food, and all household business, as well as the worship of the gods, are all prohibited"; high-caste Hindus do not even eat food which has remained in the house during an eclipse, but give it away, and all earthen vessels in use in their houses at the time must be broken.⁶ Among the rules laid down for Snâtakas, that is, Brâhmanas who have completed their studentship, there is one which forbids them to eat, travel, and sleep during the twilight;⁷ and in one of the Zoroastrian Pahlavi texts it is said that "in the dark it is not allowable to eat food, for the demons and fiends seize upon one-third of the

¹ Tertullian, *De jejuniis*, 2 (Migne, *op. cit.* ii. 956).

² St. Jerome, *Commentarii in Jonam*, 3 (Migne, *op. cit.* xxv. 1140). St. Augustine, *Epistola LV* (alias CXIX), 'Ad inquisitiones Januarii,' 15 (Migne, xxxiii. 217 sq.). Funk, *loc. cit.* p. 209.

³ Schönwerth, *Aus der Oberpfalz*, iii. 55.

⁴ Haberland, in *Zeitschr. f. Völkerpsychologie*, xviii. 258.

⁵ Rivers, *op. cit.* p. 592 sq.

⁶ Crooke, *Popular Religion of Northern India*, i. 21 sq.

⁷ *Laws of Manu*, iv. 55.

wisdom and glory of him who eats food in the dark."¹ Many Hindus who revere the sun do not break their fast in the morning till they catch a clear view of it, and do not eat at all on days when it is obscured by clouds²—a custom to which there is a parallel among some North American sun-worshippers, the Snanaimuq Indians belonging to the Coast Salish, who must not partake of any food until the sun is well up in the sky.³ Brahmins fast at the equinoxes, solstices, conjunctions of planets, and on the days of the new and full moon.⁴ The Buddhist Sabbath, or *Uposatha*, which occurs on the day of full moon, on the day when there is no moon, and on the two days which are eighth from the full and new moon, is not only a day of rest, but has also from ancient times been a fast-day. He who keeps the Sabbath rigorously abstains from all food between sunrise and sunset, and, as no cooking must be done during the *Uposatha*, he prepares his evening meal in the early morning before the rise of the sun.⁵

Among the Jews there are many who abstain from food on the day of an eclipse of the moon, which they regard as an evil omen.⁶ We have also reason to believe that the Jews were once in the habit of observing the new moons and Sabbaths not only as days of rest, but as fast-days; and there can be little doubt that the Jewish Sabbath originated in the belief that it was inauspicious or dangerous to work on the seventh day,

¹ *Shāyast La-Shāyast*, ix. 8.

² Wilson, *Works*, i. 266. Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal*, ii. 285. Crooke, *Things Indian*, p. 214.

³ Boas, *loc. cit.* p. 51.

⁴ Dubois, *Description of the People of India*, p. 160. See also *supra*, p. 395 *sqq.*

⁵ Childers, *Dictionary of the Pali Language*, p. 535. Kern, *Der Buddhismus*, ii. 258.

⁶ Buxtorf, *op. cit.* p. 477.

and that the reason for this belief was the mystic connection which in the opinion of the ancient Hebrews, as of so many other peoples, existed between human activity and the changes in the moon.¹ It has been sufficiently demonstrated that the Sabbath originally depended upon the new moon, and this carries with it the assumption that the Hebrews must at one time have observed a Sabbath at intervals of seven days corresponding with the moon's phases.² In the Old Testament the new moon and Sabbath are repeatedly mentioned side by side;³ thus the oppressors of the poor are represented as saying, "When will the new moon be gone, that we may sell corn; and the Sabbath, that we may set forth wheat?"⁴ Now there is a curious rule which forbids fasting on a new moon and on the seventh day,⁵ and this certainly seems to indicate what looks like a protest against

¹ See Jastrow, 'Original Character of the Hebrew Sabbath,' in *American Journal of Theology*, ii. 321 sqq. That the superstitious fear of doing work on the seventh day developed into a religious prohibition, is only an instance of the common tendency of magic forces to be transformed into divine volitions. Prof. Jastrow seems to have failed to see this when he says (*loc. cit.* p. 323) that, "if the Sabbath was originally an 'unfavourable' day on which one must avoid showing one's self before Yahwe, it would naturally be regarded as dangerous to provoke his anger by endeavouring to secure on that day personal benefits through the usual forms of activity." Wellhausen, again, suggests (*Prolegomena to the History of Israel*, p. 114) that the rest on the Sabbath was originally the consequence of that day being the festal and sacrificial day of the week, and only gradually became its essential attribute on account of the regularity with which it every eighth day interrupted the round of everyday work. He argues that the Sabbath as a day of rest cannot be very primitive, because such a day "presupposes agriculture and a tolerably hard-pressed working day-life." But this argument appears very futile when we consider how commonly changes in the moon are believed to exercise an unfavourable influence upon work of any kind. Evidence for this will be adduced in the forthcoming second volume of my *Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*.

² Wellhausen, *op. cit.* p. 112 sqq. Jastrow, *loc. cit.* pp. 314, 327.

³ 2 Kings, iv. 23. Isaiah, i. 13. Hosea, ii. 11.

⁴ Amos, viii. 5.

⁵ Judith, viii. 6. *Schulchan Aruch* (transl. by Löwe, 1896), i. 91, 117.

a fast once in vogue among the Jews on these occasions, but afterwards regarded as an illegitimate rite.¹ Hooker long ago observed in his *Ecclesiastical Polity* that "it may be a question whether in some sort they did not always fast upon the Sabbath." He refers to a statement of Josephus, according to which the sixth hour "was wont on the Sabbath always to call them home unto meat," and to certain pagan writers who upbraided them with fasting on that day.² In Nehemiah there is an indication that it was a custom to fast on the first day of the seventh month,³ which is "holy unto the Lord";⁴ and on the tenth day of the same month there was the great fast of atonement, combined with abstinence from every kind of work.⁵ I venture to think that all these fasts may be ultimately traced to a belief that the changes in the moon not only are unfavourable for work, but also make it dangerous to partake of food. The fact of the seventh day being a day of rest established the number seven as a sabbatical number. In the seventh month there are several days, besides Saturdays, which are to be observed as days of rest,⁶ and in the seventh year there shall be "a sabbath of rest unto the land."⁷ In these sabbatarian regulations the day of atonement plays a particularly prominent part. The severest punishment is prescribed for him who does not rest and

¹ See Jastrow, *loc. cit.* p. 325.

² Hooker, *Ecclesiastical Polity*, v. 72 (1830), vol. ii. 338.

³ *Nehemiah*, viii. 2, 10:—"Then he said unto them, Go your way, eat the fat, and drink the sweet, and send portions unto them for whom nothing is prepared."

⁴ *Ibid.* viii. 6 *sqq.* See also *Leviticus*, xxiii. 24 *sq.*; *Numbers*, xxix. 1. Among the Babylonians, too, the seventh month had a sacred character (Jastrow, *Religion of Babylon and Assyria*, pp. 681, 683, 686).

⁵ *Leviticus*, xvi. 29, 31; xxiii. 27 *sqq.* *Numbers*, xxix. 7.

⁶ *Leviticus*, xxiii. 24, 25, 35, 36, 39. *Numbers*, xxix. 1, 12, 35.

⁷ *Leviticus*, xxv. 4. See also *Exodus*, xxiii. 10 *sq.*

fast on that day "from even unto even";¹ and it is on the same day that, after the lapse of seven times seven years the trumpet of the jubilee shall be caused to sound throughout the land.² Most of the rules concerning the day of atonement are undoubtedly post-exilic. But the fact that no other regular days of fasting but those mentioned by Zechariah are referred to by the prophets or in earlier books, hardly justifies the conclusion drawn by many scholars that no such fast existed. It is extremely probable that the fast of the tenth day of the seventh month as a *fast of atonement* is of a comparatively modern date; but it is perhaps not too bold to suggest that the idea of atonement is a later interpretation of a previously existing fast, which was originally observed for fear of the dangerous quality attributed to the number seven. Why this fast was enjoined on the tenth day of the seventh month remains obscure; but it seems that the order of the month was considered more important than that of the day. Nehemiah speaks of a fast which was kept on the twenty-fourth day of the seventh month.³

In other Semitic religions we meet with various fasts which are in some way or other connected with astronomical changes. According to En-Nedîm, the Harranians, or "Sabians," observed a thirty days' fast in honour of the moon, commencing on the eighth day after the new moon of Adsâr (March); a nine days' fast in honour of "the Lord of Good Luck" (probably Jupiter),⁴ commencing on the ninth day before the new moon of the first Kânûn (December); and a seven days' fast in honour of the sun, commencing on the eighth or ninth day after the new moon of Shobâth (February).⁵ The thirty days' fast seems to have implied abstinence

¹ *Leviticus*, xxiii. 29 sq.

² *Ibid.* xxv. 9.

³ *Nehemiah*, ix. 1.

⁴ Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier*, ii. 226, n. 247.

⁵ En-Nedîm, *Fihrist* (book ix. ch. i.) i. 4; v. 8, 11 sq. (Chwolsohn, *op. cit.* ii. 6, 7, 32, 35 sq.). See also Chwolsohn, i. 533 sqq.; ii. 75 sq.

from every kind of food and drink between sunrise and sunset,¹ whereas the seven days' fast is expressly said to have consisted in abstinence from fat and wine.² In Manichaeism—which is essentially based upon the ancient nature religion of Babylonia, though modified by Christian and Persian elements and elevated into a gnosis³—we meet with a great number of fasts. There is a continuous fast for two days when the sun is in Sagittarius (which it enters about the 22nd November) and the moon has its full light; another fast when the sun has entered Capricornus (which it does about the 21st December) and the moon first becomes visible; and a thirty days' fast between sunrise and sunset commencing on the day "when the new moon begins to shine, the sun is in Aquarius (where it is from about the 20th January), and eight days of the month have passed," which seems to imply that the fast cannot begin until eight days after the sun has entered Aquarius and that consequently, if the new moon appears during that period, the commencement of the fast has to be postponed till the following new moon. The Manichaeans also fasted for two days at every new moon; and our chief authority on the subject, En-Nedim, states that they had seven fast-days in each month. They fasted on Sundays, and some of them, the *electi* or "perfect ones," on Mondays also.⁴ We are told by Leo the Great that they observed these weekly fasts in honour of the sun and the moon;⁵ but according to the

¹ Chwolson, *op. cit.* ii. 71 sq. Cf. Abūlfedā, 6 (*ibid.* ii. 500).

² En-Nedim, *op. cit.* v. 11 (Chwolson, *op. cit.* ii. 36).

³ Kessler, 'Mani, Manichäer,' in Herzog-Hauck, *Realencyclopädie f. protestantische Theologie*, xii. 198 sq. Harnack, *History of Dogma*, iii. 330. *Idem*, 'Manichaeism,' in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, xv. 485.

⁴ En-Nedim, *Fihrist*, in Flügel, *Mani*, pp. 95, 97. Flügel, p. 311 sqq. Kessler, *loc. cit.* p. 212 sq.

⁵ Leo the Great, *Sermo XLII.* (*al. XLI.*) 5 (Migne, *op. cit.* liv. 279).

Armenian Bishop Ebedjesu their abstinence on Sunday was occasioned by their belief that the destruction of the world was going to take place on that day.¹ There can be little doubt that the Harranian and Manichæan fasts were originally due, not to reverence, but to fear of evil influences; reverence can never be the primitive motive for a customary rite of fasting. The thirty days' fast which the Harranians observed in the month of Adsâr finds perhaps its explanation in the fact that, according to Babylonian beliefs, the month Adar was presided over by the seven evil spirits, who knew neither compassion nor mercy, who heard no prayer or supplication, and to whose baneful influence the popular faith attributed the eclipse of the moon.² But it may also be worth noticing that the Harranian fast took place about the vernal equinox—a time when, as we have seen, the Brahmins of India use to fast, though only for a day or two.

It is highly probable that the thirty days' fast of the Harranians and Manichæans is the prototype of the Muhammedan fast of Ramaḍân. During the whole ninth month of the Muhammedan year the complete abstinence from food, drink, and cohabitation from sunrise till sunset is enjoined upon every Moslem, with the exception of young children and idiots, as also sick persons and travellers, who are allowed to postpone the fast to another time.³ This fast is said to be a fourth part of Faith, the other cardinal duties of religious practice being prayer, almsgiving, and pilgrimage. But, as a matter of fact, modern Muhammedans regard the fast of Ramaḍân as of more importance than any other religious observance;⁴ many of them neglect their

¹ Flügel, *op. cit.* p. 312 sq.

² Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, pp. 263, 276, 463

³ *Koran*, ii. 180, 181, 183.

⁴ Cf. Lane, *Modern Egyptians* (1896), p. 106.

prayers, but anybody who should openly disregard the rule of fasting would be subject to a very severe punishment.¹ Even the privilege granted to travellers and sick persons is not readily taken advantage of. During their marches in the middle of summer nothing but the apprehension of death can induce the Aeneze to interrupt the fast;² and when Burton, in the disguise of a Muhammedan doctor, was in Cairo making preparations for his pilgrimage to Mecca, he found among all those who suffered severely from such total abstinence only one patient who would eat even to save his life.³ There is no evidence that the fast of Ramaḍān was an ancient, pre-Muhammedan custom.⁴ On the other hand, its similarity with the Harranian and Manichæan fasts is so striking that we are almost compelled to regard them all as fundamentally the same institution; and if this assumption is correct, Muhammed must have borrowed his fast from the Harranians or Manichæans or both. Indeed, Dr. Jacob has shown that in the year 623, when this fast seems to have been instituted, Ramaḍān exactly

¹ von Kremer, *Culturgeschichte des Orients*, i. 460.

² Burckhardt, *Bedouins and Wahābys*, p. 57.

³ Burton, *Pilgrimage to Al-Madinah and Meccah* (1898), i. 74.

⁴ We can hardly regard as such the passage in the Koran (ii. 179) where it is said, "O ye who believe! There is prescribed for you the fast as it was prescribed for those before you; haply ye may fear." The traditionists say that Muhammed was in the habit of spending the month of Ramaḍān every year in the cave at Hirā, meditating and feeding all the poor who resorted to him, and that he did so in accordance with a religious practice which the Koreish used to perform in the days of their heathenism. Others add that 'Abd al-Muttalib commenced the practice, saying "that it was the worship of God which that patriarch used to begin with the new moon of Ramaḍān, and continue during the whole of the month" (Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, ii. 56, n*. Sell, *Faith of Islām*, p. 316). But, as Muir remarks (*op. cit.* ii. 56, n*), it is the tendency of the traditionists to foreshadow the customs and precepts of Islam as if some of them had existed prior to Muhammed, and constituted part of "the religion of Abraham." See Jacob, "Der muslimische Fastenmonat Ramaḍān," in *VI. Jahresbericht der Geographischen Gesellschaft zu Greifswald*, p. i. 1893-96, p. 2 *qq.*

coincided with the Harranian fast-month.¹ In its Muhammedan form the fast extending over a whole month is looked upon as a means of expiation. It is said that by the observance of it a person will be pardoned all his past venial sins, and that only those who keep it will be allowed to enter through the gate of heaven called Rayyân.² But this is only another instance of the common fact that customs often for an incalculable period survive the motives from which they sprang.

In various religions we meet with fasting as a form of penance, as a means of appeasing an angry or indignant God, as an expiation for sin.³ The voluntary suffering involved in it is regarded as an expression of sorrow and repentance pleasing to God, as a substitute for the punishment which He otherwise would inflict upon the sinner; and at the same time it may be thought to excite His compassion, an idea noticeable in many Jewish fasts.⁴ Among the Jews individuals fasted in cases of private distress or danger: Ahab, for instance, when Elijah predicted his downfall,⁵ Ezra and his companions before their journey to Palestine,⁶ the pious Israelite when his friends were sick.⁷ Moreover, fasts were instituted for the whole community when it believed itself to be under divine displeasure, when danger

¹ Jacob, *loc. cit.* p. 5.

² Sell, *op. cit.* p. 317.

³ Wasserschleben, *Die Bussordnungen der abendländischen Kirche, passim* (Christianity). *Koran*, ii. 192; iv. 94; v. 91, 96; lviii. 5. Jolly, 'Recht und Sitte,' in Bühler, *Grundriss der indo-arischen Philologie*, p. 117; Dubois, *op. cit.* p. 160 (Brahmanism). Clavigero, *History of Mexico*, i. 285. On occasion of any public calamity the Mexican high-priest retired to a wood, where he constructed a hut for himself, and shut up in this hut he passed nine or ten months in constant prayer and frequent effusions of blood, eating only raw maize and water (Torquemada, *Monarchia Indiana*, ix. 25, vol. ii. 212 *sq.*).

⁴ Cf. Benzinger, 'Fasting,' in *Encyclopædia Biblica*, ii. 1508; Schwally, *Das Leben nach dem Tode nach den Vorstellungen des alten Israel*, p. 26.

⁵ 1 Kings, xxi. 27.

⁶ Ezra, viii. 21.

⁷ Psalms, xxxv. 13.

threatened, when a great calamity befell the land, when pestilence raged or drought set in, or there was a reverse in war.¹ Four regular fast-days were established in commemoration of various sad events that had befallen Israel during the captivity;² and in the course of time many other fasts were added, in memory of certain national troubles, though they were not regarded as obligatory.³ The law itself enjoined fasting for the great day of atonement only.

It may be asked why this particular kind of self-mortification became such a frequent and popular form of penance as it did both in Judaism and in several other religions. One reason is, no doubt, that fasting is a natural expression of contrition, owing to the depressing effect which sorrow has upon the appetite. Another reason is that the idea of penitence, as we have just observed, may be a later interpretation put upon a fast which originally sprang from fear of contamination. When an act is supposed to be connected with supernatural danger, the evil (real or imaginary) resulting from it is readily interpreted as a sign of divine anger, and the act itself is regarded as being forbidden by a god. If then the abstinence from it implies suffering, as is in some degree the case with fasting, the conclusion is drawn that the god delights in such suffering. The same inference is, moreover, made from the fact that such abstinence is enjoined in connection with religious worship, though the primary motive for this injunction was fear of pollution. Nay, even when fasting is resorted to as a cure in the case of distress or danger, as also when it is practised in commemoration of a calamity, there may be a vague belief that the food is polluted and should therefore be avoided.

¹ *Judges*, xx. 26. *1 Samuel*, vii. 6. *2 Chronicles*, xx. 3. *Nehemiah*, ix. 1. *Jeremiah*, xxxvi. 9. *Joel*, i. 14; ii. 12.

² *Zechariah*, viii. 19.

³ Greenstone, in *Jewish Encyclopedia*, v. 347.

But in several cases fasting is distinctly a survival of an expiatory sacrifice. The sacrifice of food offered to the deity was changed into the "sacrifice" involved in the abstinence from food on the part of the worshipper. We find that among the Jews the decay of sacrifice was accompanied by a greater frequency of fasts. It was only in the period immediately before the exile that fasting began to acquire special importance; and the popular estimation of it went on increasing during and after the exile, partly at least from a feeling of the need of religious exercises to take the place of the suspended temple services.¹ Like sacrifice, fasting was a regular appendage to prayer, as a means of giving special efficacy to the supplication;² fasting and praying became in fact a constant combination of words.³ And equally close is the connection between fasting and almsgiving—a circumstance which deserves special notice where, as I have shown in another place, almsgiving is regarded as a form of sacrifice or has taken the place of it.⁴ In the penitential regulations of Brahmanism we repeatedly meet with the combination "sacrifice, fasting, giving gifts";⁵ or also fasting and giving gifts, without mention being made of sacrifice.⁶ Among the Jews each fast-day was virtually an occasion for almsgiving,⁷ in accordance with the rabbinic saying that "the reward

¹ Benzinger, in *Encyclopædia Biblica*, ii. 1508. Nowack, *Lehrbuch der hebräischen Archäologie*, ii. 271.

² Löw, *Gesammelte Schriften*, i. 108. Nowack, *op. cit.* ii. 271. Benzinger, in *Encyclopædia Biblica*, ii. 1507.

³ *Judith*, iv. 9, 11. *Tobit*, xii. 8. *Ecclesiasticus*, xxxiv. 26. *St. Luke*, ii. 37.

⁴ Westermarck, *Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, i. 565 sqq.

⁵ *Gautama*, xix. 11. *Varishtha*, xxii. 8. *Baudhāyana*, ii. 10. 9.

⁶ *Varishtha*, xx. 47.

⁷ Kohler, 'Alms,' in *Jewish Encyclopedia*, i. 435. Löw, *op. cit.* i. 108. Cf. *Tobit*, xii. 8. Katz, *Der wahre Talmudjude*, p. 43.

of the fast-day is in the amount of charity distributed";¹ but fasting was sometimes declared to be even more meritorious than charity, because the former affects the body and the latter the purse only.² And from Judaism this combination of fasting and almsgiving passed over into Christianity and Muhammedanism. According to Islam, it is a religious duty to give alms after a fast;³ if a person through the infirmity of old age is not able to keep the fast, he must feed a poor person;⁴ and the violation of an inconsiderate oath may be expiated either by once feeding or clothing ten poor men, or liberating a Muhammedan slave or captive, or fasting three days.⁵ In the Christian Church fasting was not only looked upon as a necessary accompaniment of prayer, but whatever a person saved by means of it was to be given to the poor.⁶ St. Augustine says that man's righteousness in this life consists in fasting, alms, and prayer, that alms and fasting are the two wings which enable his prayer to fly upward to God.⁷ But fasting without almsgiving "is not so much as counted for fasting";⁸ that which

¹ *Berakhoth*, fol. 6 b, quoted by Greenstone, in *Jewish Encyclopedia*, v. 349.

² *Berakhoth*, fol. 32 b, quoted by Hershon, *Treasures of the Talmud*, p. 124.

³ Sell, *op. cit.* p. 251.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 281. This opinion is based on a sentence in the Koran (ii. 180) which has caused a great deal of dispute. It is said there that "those who are fit to fast may redeem it by feeding a poor man." But the expression "those who are fit to fast" has been understood to mean those who can do so only with great difficulty.

⁵ *Koran*, v. 91. Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 313 *sq.* See also *Koran*, ii. 192; iv. 94; v. 96; lviii. 5.

⁶ Harnack, *History of Dogma*, i. 205, n. 5. Löw, *op. cit.* i. 108.

⁷ St. Augustine, *Enarratio in Psalmum XLII.* 8 (Migne, *Patrologia cursus*, xxxvi. 482).

⁸ St. Chrysostom, *In Mattheum Homil. LXXVII. (al. LXXVIII.)*, 6 (Migne, *op. cit.* Ser. Græca, lviii. 710). St. Augustine, *Sermones supposititii*, cxlii. 2, 6 (Migne, xxxix. 2023 *sq.*).

is gained by the fast at dinner ought not to be turned into a feast at supper, but should be expended on the bellies of the poor.¹ And if a person was too weak to fast without injuring his health he was admonished to give the more plentiful alms.² Tertullian expressly calls fastings "sacrifices which are acceptable to God."³ They assumed the character of reverence offerings, they were said to be works of reverence towards God.⁴ But fasting, as well as temperance, has also from early times been advocated by Christian writers on the ground that it is "the beginning of chastity,"⁵ whereas "through love of eating love of impurity finds passage."⁶

EDWARD WESTERMARCK.

¹ St. Augustine, *Sermones supposititii*, cxli. 4 (Migne, *op. cit.* xxxix. 2021). See also *Canons enacted under King Edgar*, 'Of Powerful Men,' 3 (*Ancient Laws of England*, p. 415); *Ecclesiastical Institutes*, 38 (*ibid.* p. 486).

² St. Chrysostom, *In Cap. I. Genes. Homil. X.* 2 (Migne, *op. cit.* Ser. Graeca, liii. 83). St. Augustine, *Sermones supposititii*, cxlii. 1 (Migne, xxxix. 2022 *sq.*).

³ Tertullian, *De resurrectione carnis*, 8 (Migne, *op. cit.* ii. 806).

⁴ Hooker, *Ecclesiastical Polity*, v. 72, vol. ii. 334.

⁵ St. Chrysostom, *In Epist. II. ad Thessal. Cap. I. Homil. I.* 2 (Migne, *op. cit.* Ser. Gr. lxii. 470).

⁶ Tertullian, *De jejuniis*, 1 (Migne, *op. cit.* ii. 953). See also Manzoni, *Osservazioni sulla morale cattolica*, p. 175.

COLLECTANEA.

SECRET SOCIETIES AND FETISHISM IN SIERRA LEONE.

THE objects shown in Plates VIII., IX., and X., most of which were exhibited at the Society's meeting on June 19th, illustrate the appliances of some of the highly-developed secret societies and the fetish beliefs of the tribes in the Sierra Leone Protectorate. They were obtained from traders and officials who have travelled in the interior.

The most important society is the *Porro*, a detailed account of which is given in *A Revelation of the Secret Orders of Western Africa* (Dayton, Ohio, 1886, 99 pp.), by Rev. J. A. Cole of Shaingay, who was of pure negro blood and had been initiated. A description is also given by Mr. T. J. Alldridge in *The Sherbro and its Hinterland*. The society in its usual form appears to be a kind of freemason and benefit club for men only, and Mr. Cole describes signs, passwords, and seven grades which he compares to grades in European freemasonry. He explains Porro or Purroh to mean "the ancient and sacred laws of the fathers." The society trains, circumcises, tattoos, and re-names the boys of the tribes, and is substantially the native government of the country. The oaths of secrecy taken are enforced by fetish sanctions and ceremonies, and the society can put a rigid taboo on any person or thing. The mask shown in Fig. 1 was worn by a personator of the *kriffi ka porro*, or porro "devil," a spirit who may not be seen by women or non-members, and who is supposed to devour candidates for the society, and afterwards give them birth again, returning to the sky. The mask is carved from a solid block, and is

about $16\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, with an internal diameter of $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches. It is perforated with a number of holes to allow the wearer to breathe, and the dressing of the hair is carved in high relief. Holes near the lower rim of the mask serve for the attachment of a long robe of shaggy, black-dyed palm fibre. One of the principal officers of the Porro society is the *tasso* or *ba-kasey* (lawyer), who wears attached to his knees rattles of one of the forms shown in Figs. 11 and 12. The rattle in Fig. 11 is a bent plate of native iron containing a loose iron lump, while in Fig. 12 it is a longer and narrower bent plate (which may originally have contained a loose lump), with two loose jingling rings suspended at each end (Plate X.).

The *Bundu* or *Bondo* society is the initiation society for girls, and the *normeh*, or Bundu "devil," who avenges all interference with Bundu laws and taboos, and leads the girls at galas, etc., wears the mask shown in Fig. 2 (Pl. VIII.). This mask is not perforated, and it is therefore necessary from time to time for the *normeh* to take it off, which is done under the shelter of a large mat unrolled round the "devil" by an attendant. The mask has been carved from a solid block of cotton-wood and blackened, and the carved hair-dressing is of a pattern greatly favoured by the native women. The dress worn with this mask is of rough black palm fibre, sewn up at the ends of the arms and legs so that no part of the body can be seen, and the dress in my possession has a number of jingling seeds attached to the waist. This "devil," although the women's devil and personated by a woman, never *speaks*, but conveys her orders by signs. The Bundu girls, during their training in dancing, deportment, medicine, and so on, by the *mesu* or "mother of the maids," are painted all over with *wojeh*, a mixture of white clay and animal fat which is credited with magical and protective properties, and the *wojeh* is used from the palette shown in Fig. 3. The palette ends in a head, on the neck of which are two horns having a fetish meaning. Similar horns appear on the neck of a *minsereh* figure (see below) in my possession which is not illustrated. *Wojeh* is also used to trace devices by the finger on the foreheads of the country belles.



MASKS, ETC., OF PORRO AND BUNDU SOCIETIES.



YASSI SOCIETY MINSEREH FIGURE, ETC.

A third society, the *Yassi* or *Yasey*, consists of women who already belong to the Bundu and of Porro men. The *Yassi* official *Ya-mama* can enter the Porro lodge by a private passage. Everything belonging to the *Yassi* must be spotted with coloured patches, except the black *minsereh* figures, Fig. 4, which are kept in the *Yassi* house near the fetish medicine. To obtain information from the fetish, the *Ya-mama* anoints the figure with the medicine, brings it out from the *Yassi* house with certain ceremonial, and holds it out by both hands at the waist, so that it can swing, the figure being made of light wood. Should the answer to the question put be favourable, the figure gradually inclines towards the *Ya-mama*. The figure shown is 32 inches high. (Plate IX.)

The *Human Leopard Society* is one charged by most accounts with cannibalism, either ceremonial or with a fetish excuse for obtaining human flesh in time of peace. The main object of the society appears, however, to have been to obtain human fat to anoint, and so bring into activity, a made-up fetish such as Bai Bureh's *bofimah* or "medicine-bag,"—shown in Fig. 7. Bai Bureh was the principal leader of the Timini against the British in the rising of 1898-9, and used this fetish for thought-reading and forecasting events. It consists of a hardened paste surrounded by several layers of cloth covered outside by red cloth, stiffened by pieces of cane, and bound in sausage form by cord. A small horn was originally attached, but has unfortunately been lost. The Human Leopard Society began about 40 years ago, and each member was required, on entry and, some say, also every fourth year, to supply a victim. The society's slayer lurked in the bush until the designated prey passed, and then leaped on him from behind with a leopard's cry, and drove into the back of his neck the forked knife shown in Fig. 9. The body was then cut open to obtain the fat which enabled the *bofimah* to grant any wish. Sometimes the leopard's claws were imitated, not by the forked knife shown, but by a leopard-skin glove fitted with curved sharp blades. A new member was recruited by inviting him to a feast, giving him a little human flesh 'unknownst,' and then telling him what he had eaten, and that he would die

unless he became a member. The natives appear to have themselves tried to exterminate the society. According to evidence given at the enquiry before Sir D. P. Chalmers into the insurrection in Sierra Leone in 1898, it appears that about 1880-1 the chief of Tyama detected nearly 100 members, and burnt them. In 1883-4 a chief of Mano, called Cardini, burnt a sub-chief and about 80 others as members, and there are other instances. Nevertheless the society survived, and it was found necessary in 1896 to pass "The Human Leopard and Alligator Society Ordinance" for its suppression. It is the native story that the *bofimah* was originally kept alive by goats, but that a tribe whose ambush had been betrayed by the Imperri people in revenge sent the fetish into the Imperri country and decreed that human sacrifices were in future necessary.

A fetish spoon is shown in Fig. 5 (Pl. IX.), and an example of a fetish which is practically only an amulet in Fig. 8 (Pl. X.), which represents a charm called *banyehn*, 11½ inches long, and made of country iron in the form of tongs or pincers with spirally-twisted handles. Tongs or pincers are not uncommon as amulets. A pair occurs, for example, amongst a number of objects depending from an amuletic necklace in my possession which came from Nish in Serbia.

The wandering Mohammedan "Mori men" or "book men" are looked on in the Protectorate as magicians, and have a monopoly of the supply of written charms. These are made up as *sebbehs* in leather cases, and Fig. 6 (Pl. IX.) shows some specimens attached to Bai Bureh's war cap. This cap is made of skin prepared in alternate strips of white and brown. Six *sebbehs* of various sizes are attached to the sides of the cap, and one large one with eight cowries to the top.

Fig. 10 shows a specimen of the steatite *numori* or "farm devil" figures, which differs somewhat from the figures described and illustrated in *Man* for 1905 (pp. 97-100). Such figures are found by digging in the fields or in mounds far inland, and, as the present natives do not know how to carve steatite, the figures are probably the work of an extinct tribe. They are greatly valued, and are set up in the fields and whipped in



BOFIMAH, NOMORI, AND OTHER FETISH OBJECTS.

order to induce them to steal rice from the fields of others to plant in their owner's land. Sacrifices are offered to them, and their powers are greatly increased if they have been stolen. (*Cf.* vol. vi., p. 196.) The figure is $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches high, and has the usual vertical hole in the top of the head. It is seated, and perfect, except that the portion of the legs between the knees and feet is missing.

A. R. WRIGHT.

FOLK TRADITIONS OF THE MUGHAL EMPERORS.¹

THE following tales relating to the Mughal period in India were collected by Muhammad Husain Khān of the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College, Aligarh, in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, India, from peasants in the Panjāb. They are very popular among the higher classes. I am not aware whether variants of them are current among the people of other parts of Northern India; but, as far as it has been possible to ascertain, they are found in much the same form throughout the whole of the Panjāb.

The Mughal period may be said to commence with the overthrow, in 1526 A.D., of the reigning king, Ibrahim Lodi, by Bābar, a descendant of Genghis Khān and Timūrlang or Tamerlane. On his death in 1530 he was succeeded by his son Humāyūn, who was driven for a time from his throne by an adventurer of Afghān descent, Shīr Shāh. On his death in 1556 the crown passed to his son Akbar, whose long reign of 49 years covers the greatest period of the Mughal Empire. His son Jahāngīr was followed in 1628 by Shāh Jahān, to whom we are indebted for some of the finest architectural monuments of his dynasty—the new city of Delhi, the Taj Mahal at Agra. The reign of his son Aurangzīb (1658-1707) marks the decadence of the Empire, largely due to the growth of the new Mahratta power in the Deccan.

KARIM HAIDAR LODI.

¹ With Notes by W. Crooke.

Tale I. The rise of Shirū or Shīr Khān.

Before the birth of a child destined ultimately to rule Northern India, his mother dreamed that the moon had entered her womb. She got up and told the dream to her husband. To her surprise he gave her a sound beating. "I did this," he said, "to prevent you from going to sleep again to-night after such a good dream, lest a bad one may follow it and destroy its effect." One day the child cried to his father to give him a *dirham* (a coin worth about 5 pence). A darwesh who was passing by said: "What! the future king of India begging for a dirham!" When the boy grew up his mother sent him abroad to seek his fortune. He begged his way to Delhi, and lay down to sleep before the shop of a Hindu merchant. When the merchant came to open his shop in the morning he saw that a cobra was shading the face of the youth.¹ The Banya was impressed by the incident, and used his influence to obtain for the youth a commission in the army, where he rapidly gained distinction. One day in the madness of his pride, the Emperor Humāyūn cried out at a review: "With such an army I could fight God Almighty himself!" Shīr Khān and the other Mubammadans in resent at his impiety called out: "Let the infidels follow the infidel, and the faithful follow us." The army mutinied and elected Shīr Khān as their leader. He thus gained the throne, and in his prosperity he did not forget his benefactor, (who was the famous Hīmū Baqqāl), and allowed him to rule the kingdom for two days with full sovereign powers.²

II. The Wazir of Shāh Jahān.

In the district of Jhang, in the Panjāb, there was once a peasant whose wife was about to give birth to a child. She longed for an apple, which her husband was unable to procure. Just then a

¹This is a common incident in Indian folk-lore. See Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folk-lore of N. India*, 2, li. 142; Tennent, *Ceylon*, i. 389; *Bombay Gazetteer*, xv. Pt. ii. 331.

²The account of the mutiny is unhistorical. Shīr Shāh defeated Humāyūn in two battles, in 1539-1540 A.D. Hīmū is an historical personage. He rebelled against Akbar, was captured, and executed in 1556.

caravan from Kābul passed by, and the peasant asked one of the merchants to give him one. The merchant answered: "Give us an agreement that your son, when he becomes Wazir, will free us from transit dues." The man, wondering, agreed, and put his mark on the agreement. When the child was born he showed marvellous intelligence. One day he was sleeping near a well in his father's field, when a venerable old man, dressed in green, holding a sceptre in his hand, appeared to him in a vision, and ordered him to go to Delhi and attend a school there.¹ The dream was repeated three times, and when the boy did not obey the order the old man threatened to break his bones with his sceptre. So the boy went to Delhi, where he soon became proficient in all the sciences. But he was obliged to earn his living as a day-labourer. One day he was working in the Emperor's palace, when Shāh Jahān received a letter from the King of Persia written in such a way that no one could read it. As the Emperor and his attendants passed by the youth saw that the letter could be read only by looking through the sheet from the back. At first he was afraid to interfere; but finally he ventured to address the Emperor. The Emperor at first was angry, but later on he sent for the youth, and ordered that he should be bathed and supplied with a court dress. He advanced in favour, and finally became Wazir. Then he fulfilled his father's promise, and remitted the transit dues on the Kabul caravans.

III. *How Shāh Jahān appointed his Successor.*

When Shāh Jahān grew old he decided to select a successor from among his sons. So he ordered his Wazir, Asadulla Khān Asafud-dāula, to enquire and report. When the minister visited Dāra, the eldest of the princes, he was treated hospitably, and Dāra expressed the greatest devotion to him. Next he went to visit the second prince, Aurangzīb, who ordered him to wait at his gate until he had finished his prayers. When he was finally ushered in the prince treated him in an off-hand way and dis-

¹The old man was probably the saint, Khwāja Khizr. Crooke, *op. cit.* i. 47 f.; MacLagan, *Punjab Census Report*, 1891, i. 105 f.

missed him. The youngest son, Murād, made no impression on the Wazir, who, influenced with the lordly bearing of Aurangzib, advised the old Emperor to name him as his successor. Shāh Jahān, however, was in favour of Dāra. The minister, on hearing this decision, begged the Emperor to give him a paper of acquittance, as he knew well that the appointment of Dāra would lead to civil war. The Emperor agreed : Dāra was nominated as his successor. War ensued ; Aurangzib slew his brothers and gained his throne.¹

IV. Aurangzib and the Korān.

When Aurangzib ascended the throne he placed his father Shāh Jahān in confinement. Now, Muhammadans believe that if a boy succeeds in learning the Korān by heart his father will enter Paradise. On such an occasion he receives the congratulations of his friends, distributes sweetmeats, and feeds the poor.² While in prison Shāh Jahān learnt that one of the sons of Aurangzib was able to repeat the whole Korān. So he sent his congratulations, saying that he was now safe to enter Paradise as his son could recite the holy book. Aurangzib resented the implied sarcasm, and not to be outdone, set to work and soon learned the Korān by heart. Then he sent this message to his father : "*Your son has learnt to recite the Korān, and you are now sure of Paradise.*"

V. Aurangzib and his Pir, or spiritual preceptor.³

After Aurangzib ascended the throne his Pir came to pay him a visit. The Emperor asked him whether he preferred to dine with him or in the public guest-house. The Pir chose

¹ This is a folk-tradition of the intrigues which went on for the succession during the dotage of Shāh Jahān. The best account of the times is that of Manucci, whose *Storia de Mogor* has been recently admirably edited by Mr. W. Irvine.

² Such a person is called Hāfiz, "guardian, protector," and is much respected.

³ "Pir" means in Persian "elder," and is usually applied in the sense of Murshid, a religious leader, a sort of father confessor.

to dine with the Emperor, as he expected a choice dinner. But Aurangzib lived in the most simple way, and when dinner was served it consisted of a plain loaf of barley bread, which he shared with his reverend guest. Next day, when the Emperor asked him where he would like to dine, he answered hastily that he would go to the guest-house.

This Pir was about to marry his daughter; so he asked Aurangzib to give him a donation. The Emperor, who was very economical in dealing with public money, answered: "I live on what I earn by transcribing the Korān. Here are eleven cowry-shells,¹ which is all I have at present." The Pir was naturally disappointed, and when he came home put the cowries in a cupboard. When his wife asked him what he had received from the Emperor, he said: "Go to the cupboard and look." When she opened the door, lo! there were eleven splendid pearls.

VI. *Aurangzib and Saint Sarmad.*

Sarmad was a noted wandering Faqir in the days of Aurangzib. One day he met a Mulla or Muhammadan priest, who asked him if he could repeat the Musalmān Confession of Faith. Sarmad professed utter ignorance of it. The Mulla began to teach it to him, and Sarmad got as far as to repeat the first half of the formula—"There is no deity but God"; but he could not say the latter half—"Further, Muhammad is the Apostle of God." Sarmad was brought before the Emperor, and there also he refused to repeat the second sentence of the Creed. Aurangzib ordered him to be executed, and as he bared his neck to the sword, he cried: "In whatsoever shape Thou comest I know that thou art He." Still he would not repeat the words dictated by the Emperor: "Muhammad is the Apostle of God." But his head, when it was severed from the trunk, called out: "There is no deity but God; and, *further*, Muhammad is the Apostle of God." Aurangzib at

¹ Cowry-shells vary in value throughout India. In one secluded part of Central India the quotation was 2880 to the rupee which is now worth 18. 4d.

once understood that he himself had omitted the "*further*" in the formula. As Sarmad died he placed his severed head on his hand and walked away, saying that he would dash it against the walls of the palace of the unjust Emperor. But his Pir met him and warned him not to be rash. The head fell from his hands and he died just before the Great Mosque of Delhi, where he was buried and his tomb stands to this day.¹

NOTES ON SOME EARLY ECCLESIASTICAL PRACTICES
IN ARMENIA.

FROM an ancient source we learn that the Christian clergy in Armenia once dressed themselves in certain skins. Faustus of Byzance, an historian of the first half of the fifth century, relates (bk. vi.) the following of Zavên, who was Catholicos, or head, of the Armenian Church about the year 386:—"He taught all the priests to wear the dress of soldiers. For they abandoned the apostolic rule of the churches, and began to walk after their own imaginings; since the priests no longer wore in compliance with the religious rule the long robe (= Gr. *ποδήρης*), as was the law originally, but began to have cross-cut garments above the knees. And they adorned their garments with all sorts of broidery, and gave themselves unsuitable airs. And the priests clothed themselves without scruple in the hides of dead (*or* strangled) wild animals, which was not appropriate. But Zavên dressed himself in galloons and circular lappets fimbriated with ribbons, and wore sable-skin and ermine and wolf-skin, and threw over his person foxskins; and so arrayed, they went without scruple up to the bema² and sat there."

¹ Sarmad is an historical character. He was an Armenian who became mad through love for a Hindu girl, and went about naked. He attached himself to Dâra, eldest son of Aurangzib, who held unorthodox views. He was executed by Aurangzib as a heretic about 1661 A.D. The story of the headless saint walking about is common in Musalman hagiology.

² *i.e.* the altar in church.

The two patriarchs who succeeded did not venture, so we learn, to alter the ecclesiastical garb thus chosen by Zavēn. This Catholicos represented a patriotic reaction against the discipline of the Greek Church, which an earlier Catholicos, Nerses, a friend of Basil of Caesarea, had striven to impose on the Armenians. It is odd that priests should equip themselves like soldiers, yet we can only accept the statement; for the writer must have been familiar with the facts. But what of the statement that the head of the church wore at the altar, ermine, sable, wolf and fox skins, and the priests the hides of wild beasts? The latter do not seem to have formed part of the military costume. The fox was a sacred animal in the old Persian religion, and in *Vendidad*, 6, 44, it is laid down that human corpses must be laid where dog, fox, or wolf cannot get at them, probably to save the latter from pollution.

It would seem then as if the Armenian clergy dressed in these skins in order to invest themselves with the sanctity of the animals from which they were taken. Mr. J. G. Frazer adduces numerous parallel observances. (*G.B.*, 2nd ed., vol. ii., p. 367.)

The same author, Faustus, in his sixth book, ch. x., tells the following anecdote of an Armenian bishop, named John, son of Pharēn, who flourished towards the end of the fourth century: "Whenever he came to the Armenian princes, he made himself their buffoon; and as if in sport practised himself in avarice, for he was parched with thirst for gain. But his buffoonery took this shape: he would fall down on feet and hands, and crawl about before the princes, and bellow with the voice of a camel as he thus conducted himself like a camel. And then amid his bellowings he interjected these words, also uttered in a bellow, 'I am a camel, and I bear the king's sins. Lay upon me the sins of the king, let me bear them.' Then the princes would write and seal grants of villages and farms, and lay them on the backbone of John, instead of their sins. And so he acquired villages and farms and treasures from the princes of Armenia, by becoming a camel, and, so far as words went, bearing their sins." Faustus writes as if what he describes were mere buffoonery; yet

we cannot doubt but that we have here a story of a human scape-goat, of which Frazer (*G.B.*, 2nd ed., ii., p. 111 foll.) gives several examples. (Thus, at Entlebuch, in Switzerland, during the eighteenth century, the devil, "represented by a lad disguised as an old witch or as a goat or an ass," was driven out annually "amid a deafening noise of horns, clarionets, bells, whips, and so forth.")

It is not related that the Armenian patriarch donned a camel-skin for the occasion; yet in view of the fact that, as we have seen above, sacred skins were worn in church at the celebration of the Eucharist, it is not unlikely. If so, we have a complete parallel to the old Roman scape-goat, called Mamurius Veturius, or "the old Mars." This was an old man who every 14th of March was clad in skins, and led in procession through the streets. The Salii beat him with white rods, and ultimately he was expelled from the city.¹ The camel was a sacred animal among the Arabs, and may have retained his quality among the Armenians, but have been too expensive and rare an animal to be really sacrificed. If so, the Armenian patriarch was the substitute of a substitute. Anyhow, so holy a man would be able to absorb into himself the sins of princes, especially if he turned himself into a sacred animal for the occasion. In interpreting these stories we must bear in mind that the custom of sacrificing animals for the expiation of sins both of the living and the dead flourishes in Christian Armenia even to the present day, and that the priest in eating the offerings of sinners is reckoned to 'eat their sins.'

Though not bearing directly on the foregoing points, it may be noted that from the *Histoire critique des pratiques superstitieuses qui ont séduit les peuples*, by Pierre Lebrun, a monk of the Oratory, published in 1702, bk. iii., ch. 4, it would appear that the custom of sacrificing animals on solemn days still lingered on in Marseilles as late as the eighteenth century. For he relates that on the vigil, and on the day of the *Corpus Domini* feast, a bull decked with ribbands and other frivolous ornaments was led in procession through the streets of that city to the sound of flutes, bagpipes, and drums. Women as it passed ran

Frazer, *G.B.*, iii., 122.

with their children and made them kiss it, and the ignorant were in a hurry to get some of its flesh when it was killed on the last day of the *Corpus Domini* feast. It was supposed to heal diseases.

Lebrun hesitates to see in the above custom a survival of a pagan rite, and cites Ruffi's *History of Marseilles* to the effect that, according to an Act of the fourteenth century, the confraternity of the most Holy Sacrament had bought an ox to present to the people, and led it through the streets. This must surely be an aetiological story; and it hardly admits of doubt that we have here a trace of an ancient holiday when a bull was first led in procession, and then sacrificed.

F. C. CONYBEARE.

DAIRY FOLKLORE IN WEST NORFOLK.

(Communicated by Mr. F. A. Milne.)

[DR. C. B. PLOWRIGHT, M.D., of King's Lynn, Medical Officer of Health for the Freebridge Lynn Rural District, reporting to the District Council on his recent inspection of the local dairies, said]: "There had come down from time immemorial various superstitions connected with milk and milking. One of the most widespread of these throughout the whole district was that unless the hands of the milker were washed before and after milking the cow would become dry, or in other words would cease to give milk. Although it could not be said that milk was viewed with exactly superstitious reverence, yet the vessels and utensils used for it were never used for any other purpose. Nor was the milk ever stored in any place where there were any bad smells, as it was believed that the liquid would absorb the aroma. For instance, the milk was never kept near cheese, herrings, onions, or where there was any effluvium from drains. It was also regarded as a universal antidote to all kinds of poisons, and was believed to absorb and convey infectious disease from the atmosphere.

"It was considered that milk must always be kept quiet, and therefore, the dairy door was never shut violently. To spill it in milking, or, as it was said, 'to milk wide of the pail,' was most scrupulously avoided lest any should fall on the cow's feet and legs, in which case it was the belief the cow would become dry. On the other hand, when a cow was milked the first few drops were used to moisten the palms of the milker, for it was said not to be well to milk with a 'dry hand.' Dr. Plowright expressed the opinion that this was a piece of sympathetic magic, and observed with the idea of increasing the quantity of milk obtainable from the animal that was being milked. Again, before the process of milking was regularly begun, one other rite was performed. The teats were 'drawn,' that is, a few drops were milked upon the floor: they were not allowed to fall into the pail, but must be milked upon the ground. The reason assigned for this was that the duct of the teat was by this means washed out, and any dust or impurity that may have got into it, was got rid of before the full milking was entered upon. This, said the medical-officer, was clearly a survival of the rite of sacrifice, a libation poured upon the ground to propitiate the gods with the idea of insuring a plentiful supply. Possibly the sacrifice was made to some Scandinavian deity, such as Freya, or Freyja, or perhaps even to Friga. It was also usual to throw away the last few drops of milk which remained at the bottom of the jug or basin or pail which had contained it. It was alleged by those who had the handling of the milk that any deleterious substance which the milk had absorbed settled to the bottom of the vessel, and by throwing away the last few drops, the impurities were got rid of. It was so general a custom, however, that there could be but little doubt that it was a folk-lore survival, like that of the beggar throwing away the dregs from the cup from which he had taken a drink. However matted a cow's tail might become with filth, the hair must never be cut off with a sharp instrument, as it was believed that this would cause the cow to abort her calf."

(*Eastern Daily Press*, 20th Sept., 1907.)

VETERINARY PRACTICE.

EIGHT or nine years ago, in South Shropshire, the following old custom was actually carried out. A "cast" (*i.e.* abortive) calf was burned in a farmyard to prevent other cows in the neighbourhood casting their calves. The farmer was inclined to laugh at the superstition, and I could not ascertain if the desired effect resulted.

But only last year, in the same district, I heard it seriously discussed whether, when a cow casts her calf, the calf should be thrown into the next parish to prevent other cases occurring.

A friend of mine tells me that about thirty years ago a Mr. J—, of Besford, near Shrewsbury, had a farm in two parishes. The first year he went there the cows cast their calves. He was told, if he wished to prevent this in future, he must throw the carcasses into the next parish. He therefore threw them from one field in one parish to the next field in another parish, and from that day to this he has never had any cows casting calves.

Shrewsbury.

HERBERT SOUTHAM, F.S.A.

ALL HALLOWS EVE AND OTHER FESTIVALS IN CONNAUGHT.

IN Ireland, All Hallows Eve (October 31st), or, as it is generally called, November night, is a general season for merry-making.

In my native place in County Roscommon it is a favourite date for giving parties. A cake is made in nearly every house, and a ring, a coin, a sloe, and a chip of wood, are put into it which causes great excitement. The coin means riches, the one who gets the ring will be married first, whoever gets the chip of wood (which stands for a coffin) will be the first to die, and the sloe denotes the longest liver, because the fairies are supposed to blight the sloes and haws and other berries on November night, so this will be the last eatable sloe of the year.

A favourite amusement is to get a tub full of water and put

apples in it, and sometimes a sixpence or a threepenny piece; and the youngsters strip, and dip their heads into it, and try to pick up the apples or the coin with their mouths.¹ Sometimes a strip of wood is thrust through an apple, and a bit of lighted candle stuck on each projecting end; then the apple is suspended from the ceiling by a doubled piece of string, which is twisted tightly so that it winds and unwinds itself, continually revolving, and the children compete to see who can catch it with their teeth. Needless to say, they more often grip the lighted candle, and get smeared with tallow, which of course is the best part of the fun.

The girls put nine grains of oats in their mouths, and go out without speaking, and walk about till they hear some man's name mentioned; whatever Christian name they first hear will be the name of their future husband.

The boys and young men play practical jokes. If there is a miserly man, a bad neighbour, in the place, they go into his garden and cut the cabbages and give them to some poor man. Then they knock on his door with a cabbage-head, and while he is chasing one party, the rest perhaps try to pull up the remaining cabbages.² Sometimes they take the pith out of a cabbage-stalk and stuff it with hay, and put in a lighted turf, which makes the hay smoulder, and puff the smoke through the keyhole, filling the house with the disagreeable smell. Another favourite trick is to tie all the door-knockers in a row of houses together, so that when one door is opened all the other knockers begin to rap.

There are no bonfires—those are on Midsummer Eve—nor any hunting or killing of wild creatures, though we hunt the wren on St. Stephen's Day (December 26th).

¹[*Extract from an old Notebook.* "Malvern, 1st November, 1888. Colonel C.—G.— tells me that when he was a boy, I suppose about 1845-48, he stayed in a Dentbighshire farmhouse, where the sons (young men) stripped to the waist and 'bobbed' for apples in a tub of water on All Saints Eve. They urged him to join them, in the presence of the full family circle, and laughed at his modest scruples.—C. S. BURNE."]

²[This compares with the licensed poaching on Guy Fawkes' Day in Lincolnshire, vol. xiv., p. 89.—ED.]

The Wren-boys, as they are called, start in the early hours of the morning. First, they meet at some house fixed upon, to dress. The leader is dressed up in a covering of straw tied round him, and has his face blacked. He carries a big staff to which the wren is tied; (but more often than not the wren is left out). One is dressed in women's clothes, the rest have scarfs and ribbons tied to their sleeves, and any sort of fanciful headgear. Two, called the sergeants, are chosen to collect the money, and there is also a musician, or perhaps two. They walk miles, and call at all the big houses. The leader goes first, and cuts all manner of capers, and jumps about; the rest dance—jigs or any kind of dance. They sing this rhyme:

"The wren, the wren, the king of all birds,
St. Stephen's Day was caught in the furze.
Up with the kettle and down with the pan,
Give us an answer and we'll be gone."¹

In the evening they come back into the town and divide the money among themselves, and spend it as each pleases.

Twelfth Night, which is Old Christmas Day, is a greater day than Christmas Day itself. Thirteen rushlights are made in remembrance of the numbers at the Last Supper, and each is named after some member of the family. If there are not enough in the household other relations' names are added. The candles are stuck in a cake of cow-dung and lighted, and as each burns out, so will be the length of each person's life. Rushlights are only used for this occasion.

All these customs were in use when I left Ireland ten years ago, and so far as I am aware they are still continued.

HUGH JAMES BYRNE.

10a, Iverna Gardens, Kensington.

¹[The last couplet occurs in the November Souling and Clementing songs of the West Midlands of England.—Ed.]

SHETLAND BROWNIES.

THE following is copied from a little-known book called *A New Description of Orkney and Zetland*, by John Brand, Edinburgh, 1703, p. 112 (speaking of Zetland): "Not above 40 or 50 years ago, almost every family had a *Brouny* or evil spirit so-called, which served them, to whom they gave a sacrifice for his service; as when they churned their milk, they took a part thereof and sprinkled every corner of the house with it for Brounie's use, likewise when they brewed, they had a stone which they called *Brounie's Stone*, wherein there was a little hole, into which they poured some wort for a sacrifice to Brouny. My informer, a minister in the country, told me that he had conversed with an old man, who when young used to brew, and sometimes read upon his Bible, to whom an old woman in the house said, that Brouny was displeased with that book he read upon, which if he continued to do, they would get no more service of Brouny; but he being better instructed from that book, which was Brounie's eyesore and the object of his wrath, when he brewed, he would not suffer any sacrifice to be given to Brouny, whereupon the 1st and 2nd brewings were spilt, and for no use, though the wort wrought well, yet in a little time it left off working and grew cold; but of the 3rd Browst or Brewing he had ale very good, though he would not give any sacrifice to Brouny, with whom afterwards they were no more troubled. . . . Which cleareth that Scripture, *Resist the devil and he will flee from you*. They also had stacks of corn, which they called *Brounie's Stacks*, which, though they were not bound with straw ropes, or anyway fenced, as other stacks use to be, yet the greatest storm of wind was not able to blow any straw off them."

The same traveller collected stories of "Sea-monsters, the meer-men and meer-maids, which have not only been seen but apprehended and kept for some time." He writes: "About 5 years since, a boat at the fishing drew her lines, and one of them, as the fishers thought, having some great fish upon it, was with greater difficulty than the rest raised from the ground, but when raised it came more easily to the surface of the water,

upon which a creature like a woman presented itself at the side of the boat; it had the face, arms, breasts, shoulders, etc., of a woman, and long hair hanging down the back, but the nether part from below the breasts was beneath the water, so that they could not understand the shape thereof: the two fishers who were within the boat, being surprised at this strange sight, one of them unadvisedly drew a knife, and thrust it into her breast, whereupon she cried, as they judged, *Alas*, and the hook giving way she fell backward and was no more seen. The hook being big went in at her chin and out at the upper lip. The man who thrust the knife into her is now dead, and, as was observed, never prospered after this, but was still haunted by an evil spirit in the appearance of an old man, who, as he thought, used to say unto him, *Will ye do such a thing who killed the woman*; the other man then in the boat is yet alive in the isle of *Burra*" (p. 114).

F. C. CONYBEARE.

CORRESPONDENCE.

AT THE BACK OF THE BLACK MAN'S MIND.

(*Supra*, p. 234.)

There are a few points in Miss Werner's criticism on my book, *At the Back of the Black Man's Mind*, to which I would like to draw the attention of your readers.

Prof. van Gennep did not use the words "dignes de la kabbale" in reference to my book, but to a paper entitled "The Bâvili Alphabet Restored," which appeared in the African Society's *Journal*. Miss Werner must therefore have misread his paper dated 15th January, 1907, in the *Revue des Idées*, entitled "Un Système Nègre de Classification," as I cannot believe she would have gone so far out of her way to cast a slur on the collection of facts and the categories which she was unable to digest until she lit on the clue supplied by van Gennep. Van Gennep, however, kindly gives me credit for giving this clue to the world so far as the Africans are concerned.

On the other hand, in a letter from a well-known archaeologist in regard to this article the latter writes: "I have read the *Revue des Idées* two or three times, and have gained nothing from repeated perusals." So that if Miss Werner really had difficulty in grasping the fact that I wrote about certain categories of thought among the Bâvili and failed without van Gennep's help to grasp the fact, it should be some comfort to her that a distinguished man also failed to grasp van Gennep's meaning.

I am sorry Miss Werner should have been irritated by my use of 'x' for the sound 'tchi,' and also on account of my careful use of 'c' instead of 's.' I purpose to continue the use of 'x' and 'c' so far as Xivili is concerned, but I shall always inform my readers of the fact, as I have done in *At the Back of the Black Man's Mind*. I maintain that philology has not said the last word on these points, and I claim the privilege of being allowed to dissent in these cases from the all too dogmatic conclusions of the Royal Geographical Society. Sounds convey a certain meaning to me, and the 'c' (as in 'city') in Bavili should in my opinion be preserved until it is finally proved that 'c' and 's' have the same meaning in that language.

Miss Werner says: "Neither is it at all probable that the prefix 'mu' has anything to do with 'mbu,' the sea." In the word 'mwici' (Bentley's 'mwixi'), haze, mist, it certainly has to do with moisture, and 'mu' and 'mbu' are both used for sea in the Congo. Further, if she will believe me, I can assure her that there are a great number of words in the 'mu' class, all relating to moisture and liquids.

From what Miss Werner says, it is evident that 'zila' as a verb in Zululand has come to mean 'to abstain from,' but there is no verb 'zila' in Xivili. Were such the case the negative 'ka' would give the verb an opposite sense, and 'ka zila' would mean 'not to abstain from.'

But anything appears to be possible, and a great deal probable, to the comparative etymologists in their search after roots, and I am sometimes forced to blush for them in their desire to go out of their way to solve what appear to me to be very simple problems. The Bavili have not been disturbed by constant invasions, they have not had change of environment to cause much alteration in their language, and I maintain that the Xivili dialect is nearer to Bleek's ideal of a mother Bantu stock than any other Bantu dialect. The probabilities are therefore that an everyday commonsense reading of their compound words will give my readers a much nearer and truer meaning of the word than any far-fetched foreign derivation.

Miss Werner says I cannot have the word for "four" written both ways (*ia* and *ya*).¹ I assure you I might have it written at least four ways, *ya*, *na*, *ia*, or *ba*; custom has, however, restricted us to three, viz., *ia*, *ya*, *na*. The Rev. P. Alex. Vissey in his dictionary writes the sound *ia*, while Bentley writes it *ya*. But why is Miss Werner so cruel in trying to deprive me of this slight variation, when in her next paragraph she claims that the words *Nzambi* and *Nyambi* (both Xivili) have ("pace Mr. Dennett") the same force? and this in spite of my having shown that *Nyambi* is the nephew of *Bunzi*, while the word *Nzambi* is used in our sense of the word "God" (a Trinity). By this I do not wish to infer that *Nyambi* is not used by the Duala and other tribes for our word God, but that among the Bavili, the people about whom the book is written, it is not. It is merely one of *Nzambi's* attributes.

Ipon ri iku o feribo o, or "the spoon is not afraid of hot water," as the Yorubas say, and while I am not particularly sensitive to destructive criticism (it is so easy), I feel, that for a review in a journal restricted to folk-lore, very little has been said of the book from a folk-lore point of view. I am, however, somewhat consoled by the fact that Miss Werner closes her not too accurate criticism by informing us that she purposes making a comparative study of the folk-tale on page 230 of my book. I am sure that anything Miss Werner writes on this subject will be most welcome to all those of us who take an interest in folk-lore.

R. E. DENNETT.

[We have inserted Mr. Dennett's letter, but at the same time we strongly deprecate the practice (we fear we must say the growing practice) of complaining of criticism. A man who is not prepared to face criticism had better not publish a book. We commend to Mr. Dennett and to others in like case the example of one of our most eminent and most criticised folk-

¹[See *ante*, p. 238. Mr. Dennett has misunderstood Miss Werner. Her contention is, that if the syllable *ya* in *Nyambi* means *four*, it cannot at the same time be *ia*=to be.—ED.]

lorists, who is content to wait in dignified silence the verdict of time and science.—ED.]

TRAVEL NOTES IN SOUTH AFRICA: A CORRECTION.

(Vol. xiii., p. 484.)

Mr. H. D. Hemsworth has called my attention to two mistakes which I have made in reporting the information he was kind enough to give me. I have referred to "the *Baperi* or *Duiker* clan" as one of the principal clans of the Shangaans. The fact is that the *Bapedi* or *Baperi* are a Basuto clan, which I knew; they are not a Shangaan clan, which I did not know, and therefore concluded that the *Bapedi* of whom Mr. Hemsworth was speaking belonged to the same people to whom the rest of his conversation related. The other mistake is less pardonable. The *Duikers* or *Baphuti* are a sub-clan of the *Bapedi*. The mistake in identifying them I can only attribute to carelessness in transcribing my rough notes made in the train, without stopping to consider or verify the terms. I am anxious to correct both blunders at the earliest possible moment; and I take full blame for them.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

THE CELTIC OTHER-WORLD.

(*Supra*, p. 339).

M. d'Arbois' letter does not dispose of Miss Hull's contention. The distinguished French scholar seems to think that Miss Hull's objection to his views is based wholly upon the outward aspect of the Irish "Other-world," and that he has only to defend himself against the assertion that he regards it "as a *dismal* Isle of Spirits." I believe that Miss Hull's objection is of a far deeper-seated and more thorough-going nature. Certainly mine

is. We claim that the Celtic Other-world was not, originally, at all events, a *séjour des morts*, an Isle of Spirits, at all; and we are unable to find any sound justification for the statement "chez les Celtes tous les morts sans exception arrivent au *Mag Mell*, à la plaine agréable." I confess I had hoped that the analysis of the Irish Other-world stories contained in my *Voyage of Bran* would have had some effect upon M. d'Arbois, would have induced him to revise and modify the sweeping assertions he made in the *Cycle Mythologique*, assertions which, when I reviewed the book in these columns twenty-three years ago, seemed to me very hazardous, and which, when ten years later I examined and discussed the entire extant body of evidence, seemed to me demonstrably erroneous. But alike here, and in the Introduction to his recently-issued instalment of a translation of the *Táin*, M. d'Arbois stiffly maintains his original position. It therefore seems needful that those who hold a different view should state in an equally categorical way that in the oldest mythic tales the Irish Other-world is *not* a Hades, a land to which all men, or even men generally, go after death, but is a god's land to which certain favoured mortals, and they alone, penetrate, and from which they may return. M. d'Arbois relies upon a passage in the *Echtra Conalla*; but even if this is correctly interpreted by him (and translations differ), it will only admit the deduction he draws from it thanks to a very strained exegesis. Apart from this text M. d'Arbois is compelled to have recourse to stories which, on the face of them, are post-Christian in date and betray manifest signs of being influenced by Christian eschatology. One of these is the story of Patrick's calling up Cuchulainn from the dead for the purpose of converting King Loegaire. Obviously this story must postdate the full development of the Patrick legend, and cannot well be older than the ninth century. Although therefore it does contain references to incidents of a character seemingly very archaic, still its late date and its nature compel the assumption that the original Irish view of the Other-world has been modified. The other story, which tells how Fergus was raised from the dead to recite the *Táin bó Cúalnge*, can only have come into existence after the part

taken by the seventh century Senchan Torpeist in welding together our existing version of the *Táin* had become matter for legend, in other words before the eighth century. And, as a matter of fact, the story was almost immediately made to assume a formal Christian character by the ascription of the feat to the Saints of Ireland. Failing these two late instances, I must emphatically reiterate that the early Irish stories of the Other-world are destitute of any eschatological significance or import. This indeed it is which constitutes their value; they, and with them an early stratum of Greek mythic story-telling, preserve the account of a non-eschatological Other-world which everywhere else in the Aryan world, among Scandinavians and Indo-Iranians, has suffered an eschatological change, has become a Hades.

In the *Voyage of Bran* I discussed two ideas: that of the Other-world, that of Re-birth. I demonstrated (conclusively, I venture to think) the organic kinship and correlation of the two conceptions. But I failed to notice one piece of evidence which, now that Miss Hull and M. d'Arbois have obliged me to think over the matter again, stares me in the face. I was struck by the fact that, apparently, the ancient Irish told no tales about the land of the dead; I was struck by the way in which the Classical references to the Celtic doctrine of re-birth emphasise the fact that, according to it, death is merely temporary, at all events for the valiant man; *he* comes back again to this world. If the classical observers are to be believed in their account of this doctrine, and if it was one which the insular Celts held equally with their Continental kinsmen, we see at once why the ancient Irish told no stories about a dead man's land; they did not believe that such a land existed. They would not trouble themselves about the churl and the craven, what became of them was subject for neither speculation nor fantasy; but as for the valiant fighter, the Celtic Achilles, his was not the lot so pathetically bewailed by his Homeric counterpart, he 'came back' and had the usual good time of an early Celtic hero: never did he retire to his couch without an enemy's head for his pillow, and he made love on a truly magnificent scale. And, highest of all

rewards the fancy of the race pictured for him, he might win to the Other-world, not to a realm of disembodied bloodless shadows, but to a land of which the divine inmates were immortally young and fair.

ALFRED NUTT.

A BRITTANY MARRIAGE CUSTOM.

It is the custom in parts of Brittany for a girl just wedded to make an incision under the left breast immediately the ceremony in church is over. The bridegroom then applies his lips and sucks a drop of her blood. I have been informed of this curious custom by M. Jean Guyot de Villeneuve, the well-known French politician, who, however, could not tell me what significance attaches thereto in the popular mind. Can it be the object of it to make the man of one blood and kin with the woman, so that the children may be of her kin? It seems to resemble the wide-spread rite of blood-brotherhood, so well described in Trumbull's *The Blood Covenant* (New York, 1885). I should be glad to learn if the survival of such a custom among the Bretons is generally known.

F. C. CONYBEARE.

I have noted a number of these cases in the *Legend of Perseus*, vol. ii., pp. 338 sqq., and I have since discovered more, but none of them from Brittany. In *Folklore*, vol. xvi., p. 337, there is a South-Welsh story of a salmon-girl who kisses the hero with a bloody mouth, so as to leave her blood upon his face: this binds him to her. Again, in vol. xvii., p. 114, Mr. Crooke notes that in the South of Ireland if a little boy hurts a girl playfellow so as to draw blood, his nurse says to him, "Now you'll have to marry her." On the other hand, in the story of *The Wooing of Emer*, when Cuchulainn sucks from Devorgoil's wound the stone that had struck her from his sling, he becomes her blood-brother, and cannot therefore marry her. Here we have Welsh, Bretons, and modern Southern

Irish concurring in one view of the effect of a rite, in opposition to the ancient North Irish, who are found to have held a totally different view.

I should like to know in what parts of Brittany this custom is, or used to be, practised. The North Bretons must be closely akin to the South Welsh: they understand one another without an interpreter.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

FOLK-SONG REFRAIN.

Not long ago I heard the nursery song, "Froggy would a-wooing go," sung in Ripon with the following refrain:

"Kiminäry keemo,
Kiminäry keemo.
Kiminäry kiltikäry, Kiminäry keemo.
String stram pammadilly, lamma pamma rat tag,
Ring dong bomminannanny keemo."

Are these syllables slang, or Romany, or some old lesson, or an attempt to render other sounds, musical or natural, or only very sonorous gibberish? A variant of them may be found in Mr. Joseph Jacob's *English Fairy Tales* (1892), p. 72 (illustration); cf. note, p. 236.

H. M. BOWER.

THE FIFTH OF NOVEMBER AND GUY FAWKES.

(Vol. xiv., pp. 89-91, 175-6, 185-8.)

In *Guernsey Folk-Lore*, edited by Edith F. Carey from MSS. of the late Sir Edgar MacCulloch (1903), p. 36, I read:

"On the last night of the year it was customary (and the practice has not altogether fallen into desuetude) for boys to dress up a grotesque figure, which they called "Le vieux bout

de l'an," and after parading it through the streets by torch-light with the mock ceremonial of a funeral procession, to end by burying it on the beach, or in some other retired spot, or to make a bonfire and burn it."

A note by the editor adds:—"Hence the country people's term for the effigy of Guy Fawkes on the 5th of November, 'le vieux bout de l'an.'"

Is it not likely, however, that the figure now transformed into Guy represented the finish of the agricultural year, and that thus it was "le bout de l'an" in the exact sense?

A few years ago I said in *Folk-Lore* that here at Kirton-in-Lindsey, it was not customary to have a Guy with the 5th of November bonfire. Now, I am told that "th' lads 'll sometimes make a straw-man and dress him up in old things, because it pleases 'em to burn him at end of green."

M. PEACOCK.

[Will the Editor of *Guernsey Folklore* be so good as to tell us anything she can of the observance (past and present) of "Guy Fawkes' Day" in Guernsey, or of any analogous November customs there? Such evidence might throw valuable light on the connection between Guy Fawkes' and Hallowmas bonfires, long surmised by collectors of English folklore, but not proven.—ED.]

REVIEWS.

PAGAN RACES OF THE MALAY PENINSULA. By W. W. SKEAT and C. O. BLAGDEN. 2 vols. Macmillan & Co. 1906.

THE contributions of Mr. Skeat to our knowledge of the popular religion and folk-lore of the Peninsula in his *Malay Magic, Fables and Folk-tales from an Eastern Forest*; his Progress Reports addressed to the British Association, describing the work of the Cambridge Expedition which visited the Siamese Malay States under his leadership in 1899-1900, and which provided the fine collection now exhibited in the Cambridge Ethnological Museum, raised high expectations of the book in which he proposed to sum up the final results of his studies among these interesting and little-known races. These expectations have been to a large extent realised in the present work, which appears in two portly volumes lavishly illustrated by admirable photographs. A curious omission, it may be incidentally remarked, is that of a good political map of the country, which should accompany each volume. The map appended to the second volume is obviously inadequate. Mr. Skeat might also with advantage have given us a short sketch of the adventures of his Expedition. Possibly, however, he is reserving this for another book.

Some exception may perhaps be taken to the title of the book—the "Pagan Races"—which is for various reasons unsatisfactory, and to that of one section—Natural Religion—which has an established connotation other than that with which the author associates it. He has, again, after much consideration,

adopted what he calls the "phylogenetic" system; that is to say, he treats the three great tribes in distinct sections. This in some respects tends to clearness; but it necessarily involves much repetition, and it stands in the way of that general account of the whole population, their ethnology, folk-lore, and beliefs, which would enable the reader to grasp the relation in which they stand to savagery in other parts of the world. The plan is, in short, more practical and scientific than artistic. But when, as in the introductory chapter, Mr. Skeat "lets himself go," he gives us a really delightful account of the influence of environment in a tropical jungle on human and animal life—a picture which will not suffer by comparison with the classical account by Dr. Wallace of the forests of the Amazon valley and of the Malay Archipelago.

The book may be most fitly described as an encyclopedia, a digest not merely of the results of personal investigations by the authors, but of all the contributions by earlier explorers which are mostly hidden away in publications not easily accessible to English students. This method of treatment has, it is true, the disadvantage of presenting the facts in a scrappy form, and it necessitates much criticism of the authorities. The work most largely utilised in this way is that of Hrolf Vaughan-Stevens, in his voluminous contributions to the Transactions of the Berlin Anthropological Society and the *Zeitschrift für Anthropologie* in the years 1891-1899. The writings of this remarkable traveller present many difficulties. He was ignorant of the tribal dialects and worked by the aid of Malay interpreters; he was not careful to note the sources from which and the localities where he obtained his information; he failed to grasp the ethnological distinction between the various tribes; and, lastly, his Gilbertian style of after-dinner talk threw much suspicion on the value of his work. Mr. Skeat, in his anxious desire to do the fullest justice to the writings of his predecessors, has perhaps wasted space in reproducing many of his statements and criticising his conclusions. In particular, his so-called "Flower" theory of the origin of Negrito decoration has been shown to be based upon a series of misunderstandings. The native term for a "pattern" was misinterpreted by him to mean "flower"; and

he thus arrived at the conclusion that the decoration of a bamboo comb represented in a series of panels all the portions of a flower—pistils, stamens, sepals—a system which would be natural to a botanic handbook being attributed to a race of semi-naked savages. "Vaughan-Stevens," as Mr. Skeat remarks, "by falling into the trap, has furnished us with yet one more of those awful object-lessons which are provided from time to time by ethnologists who rely too much upon the answers given by question-worried savages." With all these reservations Vaughan-Stevens is still our only authority for much of the culture and beliefs of these races; and while it is obvious that his work demands careful scrutiny, much of value remains.

The book is divided into three main sections—ethnography, religion and folk-lore, philology. For the first two divisions Mr. Skeat is responsible; Mr. Blagden deals with philology alone. The last essay, which it is beyond our province to discuss, if indeed any one but the author possesses the necessary knowledge, will rank with Dr. Grierson's *Linguistic Survey of India* as one of the valuable contributions in recent years to our knowledge of the languages of Eastern Asia.

In the ethnographical chapters the most notable fact, which is vital to a comprehension of the inter-relation of these tribes, is the conclusion, based on anthropometry and other characteristics, that they can be divided into three distinct groups—that of the Semang to the north, who are brachycephalic, woolly-haired Negritos; the Sakai in the middle, dolichocephalic, wavy-haired, probably an aboriginal Dravidian type; the Jakun to the south, brachycephalic, smooth-haired, probably with Mongolian affinities. These types have naturally to some extent intermingled, and all have been more or less affected by the dominant Malay culture; but, now that the problem has been solved in the present book, it is clear that in physical appearance, institutions, and language, they are easily distinguishable. The Semang, for instance, in the form of their huts prefer the long leaf-shelter and circular dwelling found among the Andamanese; while the Sakai and Jakun build upon lofty house-posts. The bow is the tribal weapon of the Negritos; the blowpipe of the Sakai; the spear that of certain Jakun sub-tribes. It is also in this

connection worthy of note that these tribes do not appear to have completely passed through the Stone Age culture. Neither the Sakai nor Semang seem to have been the manufacturers of the stone axes and chisels which have been found in the Peninsula. In this they resemble the Andamanese. On the other hand, they have passed or are still passing through a Wood and Bone Age, though they possibly used stone anvils and hammers, whetstones, chips of flint as scrapers, and cooking stones. The wild Orang Bukit of the hills, who have no iron implements, rely almost entirely upon wood and bone for the blades of their weapons and other implements. It is no wonder that previous writers, unaware of the vital distinctions between these three races, should have fallen into serious error. With reference to certain recent theories on the ethnology of India, it is noteworthy that such a skilled anthropologist as Dr. Duckworth lays down that in dealing with forms transitional between the Semang and Sakai types, "the cephalic index fails conspicuously to differentiate the two, whereas the stature is the more reliable characteristic, and it is from this, with the skin-colour and hair-character, that evidence upon which the distinction is based is to be obtained" (Vol. i. 97).

In religion, again, these race types are clearly differentiated. That of the Semang, in spite of its recognition of Kari, a thunder god, and certain minor so-called "deities," has little in the way of ceremonial, and consists mainly of mythology and legends. There is little demon-worship, little fear of the ghosts of the dead, and still less Animism. The Sakai religion, on the other hand, is mainly demon-worship, and largely assumes that form of Shamanism which is so widely prevalent in south-east Asia. The religion of the Jakun is the pagan or pre-Mohammedan shamanistic creed of the Peninsular Malays, with the popular side of whose religion, as distinct from the Islamic element, it has much in common. It shows no trace of the tendency to personify abstract ideas found among the Semang, and its deities, if they deserve the name, are either quite otiose or form a body of glorified tribal ancestors, round whom a cycle of miraculous legends has accumulated. As might be expected, these primitive religions, wherever they come in contact with the intrusive Islam

of the Malays, are reaching a stage of decadence; and there seems little reason to doubt that, as in parts of India and Africa, Mohammedanism will ultimately swamp the aboriginal faiths.

Perhaps the most interesting contribution to our knowledge of these primitive beliefs is the account, which we owe to Vaughan-Stevens, of the method by which the Semang provide the living but unborn child with a soul. This account, though it still awaits corroboration by other observers, is regarded by Mr. Skeat as none the less credible, particularly as the idea of comparing the soul to a bird is world-wide, and is familiar to the Malays. Putting it briefly, the method provides that the expectant mother should visit a tree of the same species as her own birth-tree, and lay an offering of flowers at its root. "Even though the real birth-tree itself may be many miles distant, yet every tree of its species is regarded as identical with it. The bird, in which the child's soul is contained, always inhabits a tree of the species to which the birth-tree belongs; it flies from one tree (of the species) to another, following the as yet unborn body. The souls of first-born children are always young birds newly hatched, the offspring of the bird which contained the soul of the mother. These birds obtain the souls from Kari" (the thunder god) (II. 4.).

Mr. Skeat deals exhaustively with the beliefs and folk-lore of these races. As might have been expected from the author of *Malay Magic*, he has paid special attention to the numerous charms and incantations employed in the collection of jungle produce and in the elementary processes of agriculture which they practise. These he has recorded in the original dialects, with neat metrical translations. Among other matters of interest it may be noted that though there are cases found of skin puncturation, what some observers have been accustomed to call "tattooing" is only scarification, or even perhaps nothing more than skin-paint. As regards marriage, the curious rite of circling round a mound or ant-hill deserves further investigation; and the exchange of wives at the annual harvest carnival of the Besisi, which Mr. Skeat classes with the annual universal wedding-day of the Peruvians, might perhaps be more aptly compared with a similar mimetic charm to promote fertility among some of the Indian Dravidians. In the funeral rites the Semang use

of the funeral bamboo is remarkable. One of these is provided for the dead man by the minor chief of his village; if a person is buried without the bamboo, it is afterwards lowered through a hole into the grave. "The soul must in that case remain in the body until the burial bamboo arrived, as it is conscious that it has done nothing which might cause the latter to be refused. It is true, however, that if the soul does not leave the grave soon enough, Kari is sure to become impatient, and send thunder and lightning to hasten the tarrying soul; and although the exact effect of this is uncertain the Pangan think the soul must expiate this" (II. 94). A still more extraordinary practice is ascribed to the Samang, that when a tribesman dies the body is eaten and nothing but the head interred. This custom does not prevail at present, but the tradition seems to be based on some rite which has now become obsolete (II. 95).

It is one of the best features of this book that the authors are careful to explain that in the present state of our knowledge the present monograph can be regarded only as provisional, needing everywhere verification, correction, and extension. It is clear that the Colonial Government is bound to start without delay a well-organised Ethnographic Survey. Such a Survey would enable us to link in a manner which is impossible at present the culture and beliefs of these tribes with the wild races of Burma to the north, and with the Dravidians of the Indian Peninsula, the Andamanese in the latter case providing the intermediate link. The way to such a Survey has been cleared and the foundations have been laid by Messrs. Skeat and Blagden, who deserve hearty congratulations on the success of their labours, which we may guess owed little to official support. They have produced an admirable account of a little-known people, which contains a vast amount of trustworthy information for students of ethnology, primitive religion, and folk-lore.

W. CROOKE.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL ESSAYS PRESENTED TO EDWARD BURNETT TYLOR in honour of his 75th Birthday, 2nd October, 1907.
Edited by NORTHCOTE W. THOMAS. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 15s. net.

THE miscellaneous contents of this unique and stately volume, albeit linked by the unity of a common pursuit, can have adequate treatment only at the hands of a syndicate of reviewers. No ordinary critic "is sufficient for these things," because, apart from pronouncements on the merits of the several papers, the divergent theories enunciated in more than one of them call for the deliverance of judgments which can carry no weight save from experts.

It was a happy thought to make Dr. Tylor's seventy-fifth birthday the occasion of recognition of his immense services to anthropology, a recognition wisely rejecting the stereotyped testimonials in useless bric-à-brac, and taking the form of contributions on the line of his own researches from some of the more prominent students of the science.

Twenty of these discourse on divers matters which each, more or less, has made his own. Hence, Dr. Lang discusses Australian marriage and totem problems; Mr. Thomas (to whose capable hands "the actual work" of seeing the book through the press has been entrusted by the Editorial Committee), cognate questions; while Mr. Rivers pursues the origin of classificatory systems of relationships already illustrated in his monograph on the Todas; and Professor Ridgeway summarizes the evidence as to the Illyrian origin of the Dorians.

The variety of the articles, as well as the limits of our space, alike make detailed reference impossible. But a few words may be written about one or more contributions, notably on that by Dr. Frazer on "Folk-lore in the Old Testament," to which the attractiveness of both author and subject will secure prominence. A generation back such a theme would have been tabooed, and its selection shows how far and fast we have moved. When, in his *History of the Jews*, Dean Milman, illustrating nomadic conditions, spoke of Abraham as "an Arab sheik," the impiety of the comparison caused loud beating

of the "drum ecclesiastic." To-day, Dr. Driver, Regius Professor of Hebrew and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford, says that "there is not the smallest evidence that either Abraham or the other patriarchs ever actually existed," and not an episcopal voice is raised in protest! Dr. Frazer's encyclopaedic knowledge and matchless skill in the comparative treatment of materials unite in illuminating some "dark sayings." For example, taking the incident of David and Abigail, when the beautiful widow, quick to find consolation in the amorous arms of the "gallant outlaw," tells him that his soul "shall be bound in the bundle of life with the Lord his God," Dr. Frazer detects the persistence of the barbaric idea of the separable soul among the Hebrews. The covenant on the cairn between Jacob and Laban suggests parallels from the Hebrides and Bengal; and the wrestling of Jacob with the nameless stranger the wringing of some advantage from the "spirit or jinnee of the river," by whose banks the combatants struggled. Various fields of research are traversed by Mr. Hartland in the article on the sacrifice of female chastity in the temple of Mylitta, which, he doubtless knows, has modern example, as shown in Mr. Edgar Thurston's *Ethnographic Notes*, in certain parts of Southern India, where one girl from each family is set apart for such service, yet not losing caste; by Professor Haddon, who, Dr. Lang may take note, testifies that the Torres Straits islanders "have no conception of a Supreme God"; by Sir John Rhys, who identifies the "nine witches of Gloucester" with Goidelic sorceresses; and by Dr. Westermarck, whose contribution on the "transference of conditional curses in Morocco" was, in the first instance, read before our Society.

But, more suitably adapting the word to the occasion, Dr. Lang leads off with an admirable and warm-hearted "appreciation," as the modern phrase has it, of the donee and his work. The period, from 1861 to the present year, which this covers, and the range of subjects, duly scheduled in an exhaustive bibliography, which it includes, will be a revelation even to some among us who know *Primitive Culture* "au fond." Of that book Dr. Lang speaks in no exaggerated terms when, in the words which Thucydides applied to his *History*,

he calls it "a possession for ever," and adds that "no book can ever supersede it." In the restraint, effectiveness, and dignity of its style; in the skilful weaving of huge masses of materials into a text which they illumine and never confuse; and in the scientific caution and circumspection which inform it, *Primitive Culture* remains unequalled. It is the Canon of Anthropology. To it may be accorded Professor Freeman's verdict on Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*: "It must ever keep its place; whatever else is read, it must be read too. The ease and mastery with which he lifts the enormous burden are appreciated in proportion to the information and abilities of his critic."

It is to be wished that Dr. Lang, or some one equally skilled in exposition, had taken advantage of the present opportunity to have given a retrospective survey of a science which, "old as the hills," was for centuries in a state of suspended animation, and revived barely fifty years ago; a science which, more than any other, has affected, and will for all time to come affect, man's attitude towards, and explanation of, his surroundings. The reluctance, following on M. Boucher de Perthes' discovery of artificially-shaped flints in the Somme Valley, shared alike by theologians and men of science, to accept these tools and weapons as demonstrating the enormous antiquity and primitive savagery of man, was due to the conviction that his place in nature is wholly exceptional. The strength of that conviction explains Darwin's reticence as to the application of the theory of natural selection to man; a reticence which, in the *Descent of Man*, published in 1871, twelve years after the *Origin of Species*, he admitted was due to a desire "not to add to the prejudice against his views." Heedless of the warning of an eminent friend that his prospects of success in his career would be ruined by so rash a venture, Huxley published his lectures on the *Evidence as to Man's Place in Nature*, wherein he extended the doctrine of evolution to human psychology. That was in 1863, the year in which Lyell published his *Antiquity of Man*, the hesitating tone of the book about "species, still less, man," evoking deep regret from Darwin. And for how long had Anthropology, the Cinderella of the sciences, to wait before

she was admitted across the threshold of the British Association? So revolutionary are the changes witnessed in these latter days that all this reads like ancient history. These changes have brought acceptance, not only of the fact of man's ascent in an unbroken line from the lowest life-forms, but of the fundamental identity between, and continuity of, animal and human faculties. And it is on this philosophical side that Dr. Tylor has rendered such abiding service. His "main interest," as Dr. Lang says, "has been in beliefs and institutions." The *Early History of Mankind*, for the most part, dealt with the tangible relics of man's advance; it is in *Primitive Culture* that we have demonstration of the significance of intangible materials for knowledge of the beliefs, customs, and social institutions of the various races of mankind. The précis of the twenty Gifford lectures on Natural Religion, delivered before the University of Aberdeen in 1889-90 and 1890-91, which is given in the Bibliography, will make every student of Anthropology the more solicitous that Dr. Tylor may ere long be able to commit these lectures to the press. The two portraits of him which enrich these *Essays* are welcome; more welcome still is the later photograph, an admirable likeness, which appears in the current number of the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*.

EDWARD CLODD.

L'ANNÉE SOCIOLOGIQUE. Publiée sous la Direction de ÉMILE DURKHEIM. Dixième Année (1905-1906). Paris: Félix Alcan, 1907.

THE new volume of *L'Année Sociologique* is more interesting than ever to students of folklore. It contains three *Mémoires Originaux* devoted to the consideration of problems of importance and remarkable for the skill and acuteness which the authors have brought to the task of resolution. Space will not avail for the consideration of these essays as they deserve; but

some indication of the nature and value of their contents must be attempted.

The first is by M. P. Huvelin, and is an attempt to carry a step further the conclusions arrived at three years before by MM. Hubert and Mauss in an article discussed in these pages (*Folklore*, vol. xv., pp. 359 *sqq.*). Starting from the position that there is no opposition in kind between magical and religious acts, and from MM. Hubert and Mauss' provisional definition of magical acts as rites not part of an organized cult, but rather private, secret, mysterious, and tending towards the prohibited, he finds himself in an *impasse*. How can the magical act, if it be a social act, pass for prohibited? How can it be at once licit and illicit, religious and irreligious? He finds the way out of his difficulty by carefully examining the practical applications of magic. An activity presenting every characteristic of a social activity, and therefore lawful, can only become unlawful indirectly; that is to say, if and so far as it is employed in an anti-social interest. We must therefore take into consideration the object sought in a magical proceeding. Magic is not to be fully understood if we sever it from the different modes in which it tends to realize itself. Each of them must be analysed, to ascertain in what respects it is anti-social. MM. Hubert and Mauss, though conscious of the antinomy, though they seem to have discerned the importance of taking into account the various interests to which magical rites have been made to respond, and though they have noted that they are often practised by individuals isolated from the social group and acting in their own interest, or in that of other individuals, and in their name, have not pursued this branch of the investigation. This is where M. Huvelin steps in. Taking up the notion of interests, he directs his attention to the legal idea of rights of various kinds—rights of family or clan, public rights—exhibits them as in essence religious rights, enquires into the procedure by which they were originally enforced, and shows that it was more or less a religious procedure, fortified by religious sanctions. Rights of property, on the other hand, are more usually individual, and the procedure by which they are enforced is more predominantly magical. The same procedure is also applied to the enforcement of personal rights, such

as protection from attempts against the person or reputation, from violation of a pledge or an agreement, and so forth. This magical procedure consisted of ceremonies of various kinds, involving maledictions on the evil-doer. Sometimes these maledictions were expressed in symbol only, sometimes by word or song, sometimes in writing. In case of a pledge or agreement, the person put under the pledge was made to invoke the curse on himself if he broke it. In other words, the *mana*, the mystic power inherent more or less in every personality, and predominant in magician or ghost, or in the higher beings of the imagination, was set in motion to guard a private contract or to avenge a private wrong. But this is simply the application to private ends of those religious forces which guard and enforce public rights. M. Huvelin concludes, therefore, that in the domain of law the magical rite is only a religious rite turned from its regular social aim and employed to realize an individual will or an individual belief. Thus the contradiction is resolved. The magical rite is religious in form and tenour: it is only anti-religious in its ends.

Can this conclusion be extended beyond the domain of law to all the applications of magic? M. Huvelin thinks it can; but for the present he pursues the subject no further, awaiting the results of fresh research in a larger field.

The second *Mémoire* is by M. R. Hertz. It is a thoughtful analysis of funeral ceremonies with the object of arriving at a clearer view of the idea of death and all that it imports to peoples in the lower culture. It is obvious that death is looked upon as something very different from that which modern physiological research presents to us. A dead human body is not considered in the same light as the dead body of any other animal. It inspires horror; and the more eminent the person who is dead the greater the emotion excited, not simply by the fact of death but by the corpse. Death in fact puts an end not alone to the visible corporeal existence of a living being: with the same blow is destroyed the social being grafted on the physical individuality, to which a greater or lesser importance and dignity and consecration are attached by the collective consciousness. The destruction of such a being

is equivalent to a sacrilege and implies the intervention of powers of the same order as himself, but hostile, negative. Hence when a savage community sees in a death no merely natural phenomenon but the action of spiritual influences, we must consider that view not as merely a coarse and persistent blunder but as the naive expression of a permanent social necessity. Society in fact communicates to the individuals who compose it its own perennial character. Because it feels itself and wishes to be immortal it cannot normally believe its members destined to die: their destruction can only be the effect of sinister machinations. Doubtless the reality gives a brutal contradiction to this prejudice; but the contradiction is always received with the same movement of indignant stupor and despair. Such an outrage must have an author on whom the anger of the group can be discharged. Thus when a man dies society does not merely lose its unity: it is outraged in the very principle of its life, in its faith in itself. To read the descriptions given by ethnographers of the scenes of furious distress which take place at or immediately after a death, it seems as if the entire community felt itself lost, or at least directly threatened by the presence of antagonistic forces: the very base of its existence is shaken. The dead man, at once victim and prisoner of the evil powers, is cast violently out of the community, dragging with him his nearest relatives.

But this exclusion is not definitive. Just as the collective conscience does not believe in the necessity of death it refuses to consider it as irrevocable. Because it has faith in itself a healthy society cannot admit that an individual, who has made part of its own substance, on whom it has impressed its mark, is lost for ever. Life must have the last word. Under different forms the deceased will issue from the terrors of death to re-enter into the peace of human communion. This deliverance and reintegration constitute one of the most solemn acts of the collective life in the least advanced societies of which we have any knowledge. They are the object of the most important ceremonies. But the dead man does not return simply to the life he has quitted: the separation has been too profound to be thus instantly abolished. He will be

reunited to those who like him and before him have left this world, to the community of ancestors. He will enter that mythical society of souls which every society constructs in the image of itself. That society differs from the actual society of living men in being ideal, freed from limitations. The soul that enters it, however, will have to undergo an initiation analogous to that by which the youth is taken out of the society of women and children, and introduced into that of adult men. Initiation, the original integration which gives the individual access in the first place to the sacred mysteries of the tribe, implies a profound change of his person, a renewal of his body and soul, such as confers on him the needful religious and moral capacity. And the analogy of the two phenomena is so fundamental that this change is very often accomplished by the symbolical death of the aspirant, followed by his new birth to a higher life.

Moreover, there are analogies between death as represented in the collective consciousness and the other great crises of life—birth and marriage. In the ceremonies attendant on all three there are mystical perils incurred, and rites of purification to be performed. In all three there is a change of the mode of existence, a transition from one group to another; and these changes are expressed in the rites. Thus death is not conceived as a fact unique and without analogy. In our civilization the stages of social life are feebly marked. But less advanced societies, whose internal structure is massive and rigid, conceive a man's life as a succession of heterogeneous phases with fixed outlines, to each one of which corresponds a definite social class more or less organized. Consequently, each promotion of the individual implies the passage from one group to another, an exclusion—that is to say, a death—and a new integration—that is to say, a birth. Doubtless, these two elements do not always appear in the same perspective. According to the nature of the change it is sometimes the one, sometimes the other, that fixes the collective attention, and determines the dominant character of the event; but they are at bottom complementary. Death is for the social consciousness only a particular species of a general phenomenon.

In the light of these considerations we can understand why death is conceived as a state of transition having a certain duration. Every change of state of an individual who passes from one group to another implies a profound modification in the mental attitude of the society in regard to him, a modification which is accomplished gradually and takes time. The raw fact of physical death does not suffice to consummate death in the consciousness of the survivors. The image of him who is dead made but lately part of the system of things in this world. It is only detached little by little, by a series of internal rendings. We do not all at once think of the dead as dead; our participation in one and the same social life with him creates bonds which are not broken in a day. The fact only imposes itself upon us little by little, and it is not until the end of a prolonged conflict that we consent, that we believe in the separation as real. It is this painful psychological process which is expressed under an objective and mystical form in the belief that the soul only breaks progressively the bonds which attach it to the world; and the soul cannot again find a stable existence before the representation of the dead has taken in the consciousness of the survivors a definitive and pacified character. Between the persistent image of a man familiar and like ourselves and the image of an ancestor sometimes venerated and always distant, the opposition is too profound to enable the latter immediately to take the place of the former. Hence the notion of an intermediate state during which the soul is thought to free itself from the mortuary impurity or the sin which remained clinging to it. If, then, a certain time is necessary to banish the dead from the land of the living, it is because society, shaken by the blow, must recover its equilibrium gradually, and because the double mental labour of severance and synthesis, which the integration of the individual in a new world supposes, is only accomplished by degrees, and demands time for its completion.

This period of trouble and rending is expressed concretely by the gradual destruction of the old earthly body. When the corpse is reduced to bones no longer subject to corruption, over which death has no more power, the condition and the sign of the final deliverance is reached. Now that the body of

the deceased is like those of the ancestors, there seems no longer any obstacle to the entry of the soul into their communion. This mental connection between the soul and the body is necessary not merely because the collective thought is in the beginning concrete and incapable of conceiving of a purely spiritual existence, but still more because it presents a profoundly dramatic character. A group of acts is required to fix the attention, to orientate the imagination, to suggest belief. Now the subject-matter on which the collective activity will be exercised after death, and which will serve as the object of rites, is naturally the corpse. The integration of the dead in the invisible society will only be fully effected when the material remains are united to those of the fathers. It is the action that society exercises on the body which confers full reality on the drama it imagines for the soul. Thus the physical phenomena constituting and following death, if they do not by themselves determine the collective representations and emotions, contribute to give them the definite form they present; they bring them, as it were, a material support. Society projects into the world that surrounds it its own methods of thinking and feeling, and the latter in return fixes, regulates, and limits them in time.

I have lingered so long over this impressive essay that I have no more space, otherwise I should have been glad to lay before the members of the Society a summary of M. Bouglé's discussion which follows on the relation between law and caste in India. The roots of the law in religion and the position and function of the Brahmins are considered in the light of the most recent investigations, and the anthropological results are carefully summarised. But for these and for the reviews of anthropological and sociological literature which form the bulk of the volume I must refer the readers to its pages.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

LA NOTION DE L'ÊTRE SUPRÊME CHEZ LES PEUPLES NON-CIVILISÉS. PAR RENÉ HOFFMANN. Romet, Genève, 1907.

MONSIEUR RENÉ HOFFMANN'S work is his thesis for the degree of Bachelor of Divinity in the University of Geneva. His topic is "The All Father," in Mr. Howitt's useful phrase, and the belief in the All Father among savages and barbarians of various grades of culture. In his opinion the facts, till quite recently, have been "little dwelt upon, or ill interpreted" by students of the evolution of religion, though they "place a point of interrogation" on the theories whose authors pass them by.

M. Hoffmann regrets that in French there is no equivalent for our "All Father," and protests that he uses "Être Suprême" with no metaphysical connotation. He wants "a term neutral, colourless, and without history," and such a term in French it is difficult to find.

Beginning with Australia, M. Hoffmann makes good use of all our most recent authorities, including Herr Strehlow's letters in *Globus* of 1907. I do not know J. Dawson's *The English Colony of N.E. Wales*, 1804, and suspect a misprint in the date (p. 26). When our author represents Mr. Howitt as "contradicting himself" (p. 30), in 1883-1904, about a Dieri All Father, he seems to misunderstand his authority. The statements of Mr. Gason about an All Father, *Mura-Mura*, cited in 1883 by Mr. Howitt, were contradicted by Mr. Siebert's discovery that the *Mura-Mura* are mythical ancestral beings. To be sure Herr Reuther corroborates Mr. Gason as to an All Father, named *Mura*, distinct from the ancestral *Mura-Mura*, and Reuther had fourteen years of experience among the Dieri, as a missionary. The tribe is now verging on extinction, but as Mr. Siebert found no All Father, while the sky-dweller faintly remembered is *Arawotja*, not *Mura*, Mr. Howitt could only accept the most recent information, in correction of the earlier account.

As against the denial of an Arunta All Father, M. Hoffmann sets the *Alljira* of Herr Strehlow. Probably he exists in the

belief of Herr Strehlow's region of inquiry, but not in that of Messrs. Spencer and Gillen. They could not have missed a being after whom they made research, if he were part of Arunta belief in their field of work. Among the adjacent Loritja tribe, Herr Strehlow finds an "Être Suprême," *Tukura*, while the Alcheringa ancestral spirits are *Tukutita*, in the plural; M. Hoffmann compares Dieri *Mura* (?) and the ancestral beings, *Mura-Mura*. We need more knowledge of the language. He lays stress on the many grades of difference in the conceptions of the All Father, from the moral *Baiame* and *Mungan-ngaua* of the Kamilaroi and Kurnai, to the non-moral *Atnatu* of the Kaitish. He inclines to think that if Mr. Howitt rightly takes Kurnai and Yuin ideas to suggest, perhaps, an age prior to adoration of ancestors (M. Hoffmann means, e.g., the Dieri *Mura-Mura*), then the moral is more archaic than the non-moral All Father, who is fading away under the competition of animistic and Alcheringa ideas. But I have not observed that the Alcheringa spirits take up any of the moral sway of beings like *Baiame*: and Alcheringa beings are not ghosts of *known* human ancestors.

M. Hoffmann next studies the Fuegians,—about whom one desires more recent information,—the Bushmen, and *Fuluga* of the Andamanese. For the African All Fathers he uses the evidence of Miss Kingsley, Allégret, Trilles, Bennet (*J.A.I.* vol. xxix., 1899), Béguin, Declé, Jacottet, Gottschling (*J.A.I.* vol. xxxv., 1905), Hetherwick, and Spieth (*Die Ewe-Stämme*, Reimer, Berlin, 1906). The last-named writer is unknown to me, and many of the others had not published their observations when I wrote *The Making of Religion*.

An Ewe hymn to *Mawu* (p. 65) singularly resembles Psalm 139, verse 7, *et seqq.* *Mawu* appears to receive no sacrifice except once a year a goat tethered to a stake and left to die. Though Melanesia yields few traces of an All Father, the *Harisu* of the people of Elema is a fine example, destitute of cult (Holmes, *J.A.I.* vol. xxxii., 1902), and *Lata*, in the Reef Islands, is equally good, though he seems to receive both prayers and offerings (O'Farrell, *J.A.I.* vol. xxxiv., 1904). In the isle of Nias (west coast of Sumatra) *Lowealangi*

has no cult (Sundermann in Warneck's *Allgemeine Missionszeitschrift*, vol. xi, p. 1884).

M. Hoffmann next studies America, and finds All Fathers in abundance. He briefly recapitulates their characteristics and attributes, and explains their tendency to pass into the background of belief, and to fade into the shadow of a name. He next remarks on the singular omission of notice of these beings by many recent theorists, such as Herbert Spencer and Chantepie de la Saussaye, and he argues against the theory that the All Father is borrowed from Christian teachers; or is developed out of ghost-worship, or nature-worship, by peoples who neither worship nature nor ghosts. He concludes that the All Father belief, so far, is "*irréductible*"; and he declines to advance any theory of its origin, or to enter into metaphysics. He fears that he has "*fait la part trop belle*" for the All Father, and, in fact, his exposition of the *chronique scandaleuse* of that being does come rather late in the work (pp. 113-116). It might have been wiser to state, at the beginning, that many All Fathers are as capable of *inconsequences* and *lourderies* as Zeus himself. But M. Hoffmann holds, and here he will not, I think, satisfy Mr. Hartland, that the higher aspects of the All Father rise from a deeper stratum of the savage consciousness, and that the light myths, comic or obscene, rise from faculties of playfulness. This view, he remarks, may be considered arbitrary; we may have no right to distinguish between the religious and the mythological, but "*cette distinction ce n'est pas nous qui la faisons, mais les sauvages eux-mêmes.*" On this, and other points, M. Hoffmann will probably not make many converts. But his thesis offers an excellent synopsis of the facts in the All Father belief, facts which, I agree with him, were in some danger of being overlooked. He informs me that he will be pleased to send copies of his thesis to persons interested in his topic, but perhaps students may prefer to order it from his publisher, "Imprimerie Romet, 26 Boulevard Georges-Favori, Geneva."

A. LANG.

ENGLISH AND SCOTTISH POPULAR BALLADS; edited from the collection of FRANCIS JAMES CHILD by HELEN CHILD SARGENT and GEORGE LYMAN KITREDGE. London, 1905. D. Nutt; Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin & Co. 12s. 6d.

I STILL remember the smile with which Svend Grundtvig said that "now had 'Denmark's old Folk-ballads' produced a living offspring" when, during the last year of his life, he one day handed me a stately quarto, the first of Child's great folk-ballad publications. A superficial glance showed that the whole arrangement of text, introduction, and notes conformed very closely to the outward form of "DgF."¹ But besides this there was an inward likeness between the two works. Both were sprung from their authors' lifelong, thorough and conscientious researches into the ballad-poetry of their native lands, both were the outcome of a very wide knowledge of the folk-poetry of the whole world; each is rich in parallels, cautious in conclusions. Similar ways of work and a spiritual kinship have made the writers into close comrades. The most characteristic feature in both works is the certainty with which true folk-tradition is distinguished from literary emendation. Both authors had a lively sense of what folk-poetry will say, and it is this which makes their productions such a valuable guide,—a sense which unhappily is found all too seldom among the various writers who, since then, have busied themselves with folk-poetry. To put it shortly, they had that which made their age the golden age for the study of folk-poetry; a comprehensive survey of the material, an instinct not only for its wider outlines, but also for each individual feature as an expression of the luxuriance of life which marks its whole, an untiring power of work to carry the problem through in all its breadth, a never-failing interest in every new contribution which could be won from far or near.

* * * * *

A comparison between the two works suggests itself. They stand alone in European literature, still unsurpassed by any

¹ Svend Grundtvig, *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser*.

successor. They vie with each other in immense learning. Here, perhaps, Child, who could build on Grundtvig, attains the higher point. In any case he has with incredible perseverance got at the whole literature of Europe, including literatures hard to come at, such as the Slavonic. Grundtvig's work gives the impression of steady growth, Child's of a pause in the advance of knowledge, where, rich as are the additions he makes, they but seldom open out new views of his subject. Child had a passion for detail, to which he trusted to an extent which has seldom been shown by anyone else who had such colossal material to deal with. It is this, and his good fortune in being able to bring his work to an end himself, which makes the fruit of his labour so useful. If we ask for a single definite result which can serve as a mark to show how far he has carried us forward, it is harder to name one. One must rather look to the very ground-work of his publication, to the diligence with which he has traced out notebooks and manuscripts in private hands, dating from the time when there was still living tradition to garner from, records from the period of romantic poetry, and to the clearness with which he has sifted out bookish remodelling from true folk-work. But in going over the general field of folk-poetry Child is extremely cautious, his great collection of examples is material placed on record, but with the utmost caution he only draws the bare outlines of their relationship, and often hardly indicates them.

The contrast between them shows most strongly where both are working on the same ballad. Compare, for instance, *Kvindemorderen* (DgF., 183) with *Lady Isabel and the Elf-Knight* (Child, 4). Grundtvig's introduction is one of his most beautiful examinations of the indications to be drawn from the grouping of the material; Child's is an extraordinarily close rendering of Grundtvig's, only with still fuller material, following him along the whole line, even on points which well deserved to be taken up as subjects for fresh investigation, such as the question whether the tempter-knight is thought of from the very first as a supernatural being.

But taking these two ballad-editors as they are, they serve to supplement each other. That two such men, with sub-

stantially the same views, should have toiled at this immense material from the first commencement, is a piece of good fortune for later research; and one can scarcely imagine that the work could possibly have been accomplished better than it has been by them.

These are the thoughts which force themselves upon us, now that the English folk-ballads lie before us, not merely in the great ten-volume edition, which costs many pounds, but also in the new abridged edition, which is sold remarkably cheap. Here each number in the collection is represented by one or more versions, with a very short introduction which gives the result of the detailed investigation. In this shape the English folk-ballads are easily accessible; and to readers in the North this group of poetry certainly seems that which in its whole range of ideas—and to some extent also in its individual themes—stands nearest to our own ballad-poetry.

AXEL ÖLRIK (in *Danske Studier*, 1907.

Translated by A. F. Major.)

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Stechert, 2 Star Yard, Carey Street, W.C.
1901. Giessen University Library, per Hirschfeld Brothers, 13 Fournival St., W.C.

1883. Glasgow University Library, per J. MacLehose & Sons, 61 St. Vincent Street, Glasgow.
1902. Gloucester Public Library, Gloucester, per Roland Austin, Esq.
1878. Göttingen University Library, per Asber & Co., 18 Bedford Street, Covent Garden, W.C.
1905. Grand Rapids Public Library, per G. E. Stechert, 2 Star Yard, W.C.
1892. Guildhall Library, E.C., per E. M. Barrajo, Esq., Librarian.
1878. Harvard College Library, per Kegan Paul & Co., 43 Gerrard Street, W.C.
1904. Helsingfors University Library, per Kegan Paul & Co., 43 Gerrard St., W.C.
1902. Holliday & Co., Wellington, New Zealand, per Sampson, Low & Co., Fetter Lane, E.C.
1896. Howard Memorial Library, New Orleans, U.S.A., per W. Beer, Esq.
1902. Hull Public Libraries, per W. F. Lawton, Esq.
1895. India Office Library, Whitehall, S.W., per F. W. Thomas, Esq.
1901. Institut de France, per Continental Export Company, 4 High Street, Bloomsbury, W.C.
1907. Institut de Sociologie Solvay, Brussels, per Kegan Paul & Co., 43 Gerrard Street, W.
1899. Iowa State Library, Des Moines, Iowa, U.S.A., per B. F. Stevens & Brown, 4 Trafalgar Square, W.C.
1907. Johannesburg Public Library, per J. F. Cadenhead, Esq., Johannesburg, S. Africa.
1895. John Rylands Library, Deansgate, Manchester.
1879. Johns Hopkins University Library, Baltimore, per E. G. Allen & Son, King Edward Mansions, 212A Shaftesbury Avenue, W.C.
1905. Kensington Public Libraries, per Farmer & Sons, 179 Kensington High Street, W.
1882. Kiev University Library, per F. A. Brockhaus, 48 Old Bailey, E.C.
1892. Leicester Literary and Philosophical Society, per G. F. Stevenson, Esq., LL.B., 11 New Street, Leicester.
1903. Leland Stanford Junior University College, per F. A. Brockhaus, 48 Old Bailey, E.C.
1885. Library of the Supreme Council of the 33°, etc., 33 Golden Sq., W.
1899. Liverpool Free Public Library, per Gilbert G. Walmsley, Esq., 59 Lord Street, Liverpool.
1879. London Library, St. James's Square, S.W.
1904. Los Angeles Public Library, California, per B. F. Stevens & Brown, 4 Trafalgar Square, W.C.
1878. Manchester Free Library, King Street, Manchester.

1897. Max, J., & Co., 21 Schweidnitzerstrasse, Breslau.
1902. Meadville Theological School Library, Meadville, Pa., U.S.A., per G. E. Stechert, 2 Star Yard, Carey Street, W.C.
1904. Mercantile Library of St. Louis, U.S.A., per G. E. Stechert, 2 Star Yard, Carey Street, W.C.
1895. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, U.S.A., per G. E. Stechert, 2 Star Yard, Carey Street, W.C.
1893. Meyrick Library, Jesus College, Oxford, per. E. E. Genner, Esq., Librarian.
1902. Michigan State Library, Lansing, Michigan, U.S.A., per G. E. Stechert, 2 Star Yard, Carey Street, W.C.
1907. Michigan University Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan, U.S.A.
1881. Middlesborough Free Library, per Baker Hudson, Esq.
1905. Minneapolis Public Library, per G. E. Stechert, 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
1894. Minnesota, University of, Minneapolis, U.S.A., per G. E. Stechert, 2 Star Yard, Carey Street, W.C.
1878. Mitchell Library, 21 Miller Street, Glasgow, c/o F. T. Barrett, Esq., Librarian.
1880. Munich Royal Library, per Asher & Co., 13 Bedford Street, W.C.
1904. Nancy, Université de, Nancy, France, per M. Paul Perdriset.
1894. National Library of Ireland, per Hodges, Figgis & Co., 104 Grafton Street, Dublin.
1898. Newark Free Public Library, New Jersey, U.S.A., per G. E. Stechert, 2 Star Yard, Carey Street, W.C.
1888. Newberry Library, Chicago, U.S.A., per B. F. Stevens & Brown, 4 Trafalgar Square, W.C.
1879. Newcastle Literary and Philosophical Society, Newcastle-on-Tyne, per H. Richardson, Esq.
1898. New Jersey, The College of, Princeton, N.J., U.S.A., per H. A. Duffield, Esq., Treasurer.
1904. New Jersey Free Library, per G. E. Stechert, 2 Star Yard, Carey Street, W.C.
1894. New York, College of the City of, per G. E. Stechert, 2 Star Yard, Carey Street, W.C.
1907. New York General Theological Seminary, per G. E. Stechert, 2 Star Yard, Carey Street, W.C.
1898. New York Public Library (Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundation), per B. F. Stevens & Brown, 4 Trafalgar Square, W.C.
1894. New York State Library, per G. E. Stechert, 2 Star Yard, Carey Street, W.C.
1883. Nottingham Free Public Library, per J. E. Bryan, Esq., St. Peter's Churchside, Nottingham.
1894. Oxford and Cambridge Club, per Harrison & Sons, 45 Pall Mall, S.W.

1881. Peabody Institute, Baltimore, U.S.A., per E. G. Allen & Son, King Edward Mansions, 212A Shaftesbury Avenue, W.C.
1894. Peorio, Public Library of, per G. E. Stechert, 2 Star Yard, Carey Street, W.C.
1899. Philadelphia, Free Library of, per B. F. Stevens & Brown, 4 Trafalgar Square, W.C.
1881. Philadelphia, The Library Company of, U.S.A., per E. G. Allen & Son, King Edward Mansions, 212A Shaftesbury Avenue, W.C.
1904. Philippine Islands, Ethnological Survey for the, Manila, per Merton L. Miller, Esq., Acting Chief.
1879. Plymouth Institution and Devon and Cornwall Natural History Society, per C. S. Jago, Esq., Plymouth Public School.
1894. Providence Public Library, per G. E. Stechert, 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
1900. Reading Free Public Library, per W. H. Greenhough, Esq.
1894. Röhrscheid & Ebbecke, Buchhandlung, Am Hof, 28, Bonn, Germany.
1894. Royal Irish Academy, per Hodges, Figgis & Co., 104 Grafton St., Dublin.
1888. St. Helen's Corporation Free Library, per A. Lancaster, Esq., Librarian, Town Hall, St. Helens.
1898. Salford Public Library, Manchester.
1907. Seattle Public Library, Seattle, Washington, U.S.A., per B. F. Stevens & Brown, 4 Trafalgar Square, S.W.
1899. Sheffield Free Public Library, Surrey Street, Sheffield, per S. Smith, Esq.
1898. Signet Library, Edinburgh.
1905. Sion College Library, Victoria Embankment, E.C., per W. H. Milman, Esq., Librarian.
1879. Stockholm, Royal Library of, per W. H. Dawson & Sons, St. Dunstan's House, Fetter Lane, E.C.
1903. Sunderland Public Library, Borough Rd., Sunderland, per B. R. Hill, Esq.
1894. Surgeon General Office Library, Washington, D.C., U.S.A., per Kegan Paul & Co., 43 Gerrard Street, W.
1891. Swansea Public Library, per S. E. Thompson, Esq., Librarian.
1881. Sydney Free Public Library, per Truslove & Hanson, 153 Oxford St., W.
1895. Tate Library, University College, Liverpool, care of J. Sampson, Esq.
1906. Texas, University of Austin, Texas, U.S.A., per G. E. Stechert, 2 Star Yard, Carey Street, W.C.
1883. Taylor Institution, Oxford, per Parker & Co., Broad Street, Oxford.
1898. Toronto Public Library, per C. D. Cazenove & Son, 26 Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, W.C.
1899. Toronto University Library, per C. D. Cazenove & Son, 26 Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, W.C.
1879. Torquay Natural History Society, care of A. Somervail, Esq.

1899. Upsala University Library, per C. J. Lundström, Upsala, Sweden.
1896. Van Stockum, W. P., & Son, 36 Buitenhof, The Hague, Holland.
1899. Vassar College Library, Poughkeepsie, New York, U.S.A., per H. Sotheran & Co., 140 Strand, W.C.
1907. Victoria Public Library, Melbourne, per Agent-General for Victoria, 142 Queen Victoria Street, E.C.
1902. Vienna Imperial Court Library, per Asher & Co., 13 Bedford Street, W.C.
1901. Vienna Imperial University Library, per Asher & Co., 13 Bedford Street, W.C.
1892. Voss Sortiment (Herr G. Haessler), Leipzig.
1890. Watkinson Library, Hartford, Connecticut, U.S.A., per E. G. Allen & Son, King Edward Mansions, 212A Shaftesbury Avenue, W.C.
1898. Weimar Grand Ducal Library, per Dr. P. von Bojanowsky.
1907. Wesleyan University, Library of, Middletown, Connecticut, U.S.A.
1898. Wisconsin State Historical Society, per H. Sotheran & Co., 140 Strand, W.C.
1885. Worcester Free Public Library, Mass., U.S.A., per Kegan Paul & Co., 43 Gerrard Street, W.
1905. Yale University Library, New Haven, Connecticut, U.S.A., per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey Street, W.C.

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